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THE LINES TO BE FOLLOWED IN DRAWING THE PICTURES FOR THE MAHĀBHĀRATA EDITION *

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My "Picture Rāmāyaṇa" was published in 1916. It then occurred to me that I should issue a similar companion volume containing pictures illustrating the story of the Mahābhārata. When this idea was communicated to a friend of mine, he said that a standard edition of the whole Mahābhārata with various readings and with introduction, and also illustrations similar to the 'Picture Rāmāyaṇa' should be published and that such an edition would be worthy of my present position. This suggestion appealed itself to me. I consulted our revered Guru Dr. Bhandarkar who heartily approved of the whole scheme. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has, at my request, taken upon itself the task of issuing a complete, critical, annotated and illustrated edition of the Mahābhārata. It is evident that in as much as the Mahābhārata is the national epic of India, it is the duty of every individual and of every Government including the Imperial Government of India, to financially support this tremendous undertaking. It is in this noble spirit that the Government of Bombay have, under the lead of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, sanctioned a maximum yearly donation of rupees six

* Read at the Bhandarkar Institute on the 23rd of July 1921.

thousand till the work is completed. I have, on my part, pledged myself to give the Institute, as help towards bringing out this edition of the Mahābhārata, a sum of rupees one lakh (hundred thousand) in all. The University of Bombay and the Government of Burma have each come forward to our help with suitable yearly donations and we have every hope that the Rajas and the Maharajas of our land and our merchant princes and other rich persons as also the other Provincial Governments would favourably respond to this cause for the rehabilitation of our national poem.

Now with regard to the illustrations which are to form a conspicuous part of this forthcoming edition of the Mahābhārata, it has been stated in the Prospectus issued by the Institute in 1919 (page 35) that the number of the pictures would be about 200. They would not be issued in a volume by itself as the Picture Rāmāyaṇa but would be inserted in their proper places in the body of the text itself. These illustrations will be painted by myself personally or by other artists under my personal supervision.

But a very important question is—and it is also a very difficult question—as to how to draw these pictures that are to go in this edition of the Mahābhārata. This question was informally discussed to a certain extent at the time of the first Oriental Conference held at Poona in November 1919. Most of the eminent scholars then assembled took part in the discussion. Even before this meeting was held, the question was referred for opinion to scholars and experts in the matter. But on either occasion the outcome was not assuring. Most of those who were written to in advance did not favour us with any reply, and the bringing together of the scholars at the meeting held during the Conference Sessions only served to emphasize how widely divergent views and notions were entertained on the point at issue. For instance, it was urged (with regard to the question as to how the heroes were to be dressed) that the provincial dresses which people use at present in particular provinces may be shown in our pictures, with

regard to incidents which are mentioned to have happened in those provinces in the epic. Again it was also recommended that the style adopted by the Jaipur School of painting should be followep in the matter of apparel, ornaments, etc. Some urged that the style followed by me in the Picture Rāmāyaṇa was by no means a bad one and that therefore, it should be continued. *But illustrtions drawn from subjective standards and based on no fixed principles are surely enough out of place in a standard scientific edition of the Mahābhārata.*

The question is further complicated by the fact that no caves or statues or carvings belonging to the epic period are available, nor is there any literary evidence which may unimpeachably be assigned to the epic period. In fact the existence of this 'epic period' may most plausibly be doubted with the result that the questions, in which epic artists are likely to feel the greatest interest are left in a hoplessly moot condition. Some of such questions are the following:—What sort of dress should Draupadī be shown in? What would be the proper dress for Arjuna? In what manner did he wear his crown and his armour? What are the ornaments proper for the age? What were the animals such as elephants, horses, oxen peculiar to that period and how were they clothed? What was the style in which carts and chariots were built then? How were the houses built and how should they be shown? How did big processions on such occasions as expeditions, hunting etc. start? How should the royal umbrella and other insignia be shown? Should these and other items of their life be drawn from mere descriptions or ocular evidence such as some of our modern artists do, or should they be based on some real evidence? The source of the evidence as also its provenance must be taken into account.

Though it cannot now be denied that we Indians do change our manners of dressing ourselves according to circumstances, still, it is evident that the general popular tendency is towards not

completely breaking away from the tradition An Indian from any province of India between the Himayalas and the Cape Comorin and belonging to any of the four castes, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra is everywhere seen generally wearing two pieces of cloth only: one to cover the lower body and the other the *Uttarīya*, the upper one. Howsoever some of our officials and *intelligentic* might be now dressing themselves on social ceremonious occasions from after the tenth century onward, first in imitation of the Mahomedans and now in imitation of the Europeans, still it can scarcely be gainsaid that we in our homes, and more especially on religious occasions have only two pieces of cloth. This shows how conservative we have always been, and how tenaciously we cling to the old traditions.

The Mahomedans conquered almost the whole of India after the eleventh century and ruled it for a long time afterwards. The conquered races naturally try to imitate the conquerors, The social etiquette changed and along with it the custome, too. Thus, the loose *Pāyajamā* and the cap were introduced. (Dhoties and old head dress being put aside;) the only class that has resisted this onset of new fashions, was that of women generally. They have practically retained their habits intact though the *Goṣā* according to some, came to be introduced in their case, too. We have been under the English rule for the last two hundred years or so, and we have partly adopted the English habits. The old *Pāyajamās* and *Aṅgarakhās* have given place to pāntaloons, long coats, and short coats; and collars and neckties now bind our necks, and the Mussalman shoes have been replaced by English shoes and boots. In spite of this, however, it must not be forgotten that even now we wear only two pieces of cloth in our homes. Foreign invasions, and foreign dominance for centuries together have not been able to undermine, to any appreciable extent, our conservatism. Should not this our conservatism enable us to conclude that our social customs, manners and ways as evidenced in our costumes, ornaments, means of transport, general ways of deportment, and innumerable other

details, at a period when India was unaffected by contact with foreign rule and foreigners, who dressed themselves in a different fashion and observed a different set of customs and manners, were the same as what must have been current for centuries together?

My argument therefore comes to this:—We shall not be going wrong in holding that the details of daily life as portrayed on Indian sculptures and statues belonging roughly to the period 300 B. C. to 150 B. C. (i. e. to about the time ef Candragupta and his famous grandson Aśoka) in so far as they depict certain costumes, ornaments etc. must have been those which had prevailed from very ancient times, —say for about a thousand years previous to their depictment,—times, which we may without much contradiction, generally designate as the Epic or Mahābhārata period. The same fashion in costumes and ornaments etc. was, it can be said, generally followed for even seven or eight centuries that followed the time of Aśoka, when we see the engravings and pictures at Sanchi-Bharhut, Bhilsa, Ajanta, Ellora and last of all at Java and remember when and by whom these pieces of art were executed. The comparison of these with one another would show us how little our original ways have been influenced by foreign contact. It is of course well known that attempts were made to show that all these engravings and topes dated after the Christian era; nay, Buddhism itself was once boldly asserted by some European scholars to have originated afrer or about the Christian era. Thus "the Buddhism of Gautama or Śākya Buddha dates not as usually supposed from the sixth century B.C. but from about or perhaps shortly before the commencement of the Christian era etc." (Sanchi and its remains: by General F.G. Maisey, Introductory chapter). The object in passing such easy-going *obiter dicta* as is involved in this assertion that Buddhism is approximately contemporaneous with Christianity, was perhaps to make the path of the hypothesis of Greek and Roman influence on Indian art a

smooth one and thus to stamp the Indian Art as an imitation. But fortunately for Indian Art, saner views have since prevailed as every student of Indian Art and literature now knows. E. B. Havell thus says in his work 'Indian Sculpture and Painting' (page 93). 'The Bharaut rail is, according to Fergusson the most interesting monument in India from a historical point of view. It is especially important for the study of Indian Sculpture because it shows the degree of technical development the fine arts in India had reached before India came in contact with the Graeco—Roman Art of Gandhara, before the Indian Artistic philosophy had been differentiated from that of Europe". Fergusson says:—"It cannot be too strongly insisted that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence; it is indeed in every detail antagonistic to that art. Nor is there any trace of classical art; nor can it be affirmed that any thing here could have been borrowed directly from Babylonia or Assyria. The capitals of the pillars do resemble somewhat those of Persepolis, and the honey suckle ornaments point in the same direction; but barring that, the art, especially the figure sculpture belonging to the rail, seems an art elaborated on the spot by Indians and by Indians only". (History of Indian Architecture, page 39).

This would prove at least that as all the scenes carved on the walls of the Bharhut Topes before 250 B.C. are purely indigenous; since they are uninfluenced or spoiled by any foreign style, the style followed there can well be taken to have existed about one thousand years back i. e. in the real or supposed epic, and more particularly the Mahābhārata period.

There are some paintings at Ajanta depicting the occasion of Indians mixing and holding a sort of general intercourse with foreigners, and the difference to be marked there between the costumes of the two sets of people belonging to separate nationalities, is sure to convince any one that these pictures faithfully represent the manners of the society as regards dress etc. in those days and that they are not merely arbitrary drawings. The

details which the artist could not carve or present well, are only left to suggestion, but this should in no case mislead us.

For our present purpose, I have arrived, after prolonged and due consideration, to the conclusion that the pictures for the edition of the Mahābhārata now in preparation should follow the lines indicated above *i. e.*, they should be after the models of the pictures to be found in the old sculptures, and paintings in the caves or the Stūpas, etc. Further details about costumes, ornaments, animals, conveyance etc., with the necessary drawings and authorities (the latter both literary and pictorial) have been given in an Appendix to this essay.

I may refer to one or two small points, before entering upon these details. First, I have to request all and especially those that are interested in this subject of our Mahābhārata illustrations, that any suggestions on this subject would be welcomed and very carefully considered. They may be addressed either to me direct or to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. They would receive my best consideration and would be given a due weight in my final work.

The second point I want to allude to, here, is this. Though the Mahābhārata as we have it now, may be regarded as a legendary account or as a Smṛti work or even as a store house of philosophy, still there have been few scholars who deny that the main story lying at the back ground of the poem is a real fact. If the Mahābhārata war—call it a battle if you like—be a very probably accomplished fact, then the heroes and the names indissolubly connected with it must have also been real persons. The date of this event only remains a matter for conjecture. Leaving this question for others to decide, I would for my present purpose urge that the Mahābhārata war may be assumed to be a real fact and that the pictorial representation of its innumerable details should approximate to the ascertained probable time; and from this point of view at least I am not prepared to subscribe to the opinion of a reviewer of our Mahābhārata prospectus on its pictorial side. The '*Rupam*' of

Calcutta for October 1920 contains editorial notes on the edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by this Institute, more particularly, as just now said, regarding what is said in our Prospectus about the illustrations that are to go with the text. The sum and substance of the criticism in the *Rupam* seems to be that we should follow, in our work, the canons of the new school of art, developing on the Calcutta side. Can we however afford to ignore the principles of anatomy in drawing the limbs of the human body or the principles of Perspective? How would it be right that we should have no back-grounds and landscapes etc? The critic says that we should keep before us as our model the Ajanta Frescoes. We go to still more ancient sources since our plan is to follow the Sanchi, Bharhut and Amaravati pictures in so far as ornaments, dress etc., are concerned, and with regard to painting to follow generally the Ajanta drawings. But it does not stand to reason to say that the elementary principles of anatomy etc., should not be introduced, because for some reason or another they were ignored or mistaken in some cases, by our ancient artists. I am firmly convinced that we must correct these mistakes of our ancient artists, mistakes which very often mar the correctness of effect.

The critic further says "No amount of historical or archæological details can help us to picture the helmet of Perseus or the chariot of Arjuna". But the question still remains how are these to be shown? As said above and as would be abundantly made clear in the appendix to follow, many of the common things of our life such as ornaments, apparel, conveyances etc., did exist in practically the same form, at about three hundred B.C. as they are to-day. Have we any valid ground for doubting that they were not so, several centuries before that date? I am at least aware of no such reason. And the innate conservatism rooted in our minds points to strengthen our contention that there could not have been any great change between say 1,000 B.C. and 300 B.C. There can thus be no 'anachronism' which our critic is afraid of—a charge which cannot consistantly be

brought against our plan, when, at another place, the same critic advises us to follow the Ajanta drawings.

The same critic has also urged that "In matters of this kind he who pays the piper is not necessarily entitled to call for the tune", and "but we venture to suggest that it is not impossible to find among contemporary talents more than one Indian artist gifted with the requisite imaginative mind capable of producing in colour and form an adequate picturisation of the scenes, atmosphere and the life of the Indian Sagas. Any true and successful rendering of Indian mythical subjects must follow the path of symbolism and suggestion rather than of realism or naturalism." The drift of the criticism seems to be that the pictures should not be of the realistic type, and that the Calcutta School of drawing should be more or less copied in our pictures. Though the personal allusion scarcely calls for any remark, still it must be said that after it is once settled that the edition is to be an illustrated one, some one with the requisite knowledge and responsibility must see the work through. As regards the style to be followed, no arbitrary standards must be laid down; but we must base our work on facts and monuments as ancient as possible. A standard critical edition of the Mahābhārata that aspires to win the approval of all, must not, forsooth, have pictures that would only appeal to one and only one section of the people. We must get over the provincialism whenever and wherever necessary. As a not very encouraging sign of this pride of provincialism, I may mention that I presented a copy of my 'Picture Rāmāyaṇa' to a very great personage—and artist too—on the Bengal side and requested him that I should be favoured with his views about it. He replied that he would not even deign to look at pictures not drawn on the model of the new Calcutta School of artists. I venture to regard this as an instance of misplaced provincialism, and one may be reminded of that well known verse in the *Pañcatantra*.

Still, the lines on which the pictures for the final edition of the Mahābhārata will be drawn, will be finally fixed in the light of

and giving due weight to all reasonable criticisms which this essay would evoke. The two prominent departures would be those indicated above, namely mistakes offending against the fundamental principles of anatomy and perspective which have successively been perpetuated in our ancient drawings at Sanchi, Bhilsar, Ajanta and other places, will not be continued. It must be added that artistic talent coming from all sides will be employed and remunerated, provided the first principles are agreed to. The work undertaken by us all is as national as the poem itself, for whose resurrection we have all been labouring.

APPENDIX

We have chiefly to take into consideration the various points regarding the items enumerated in the list below :—

(*a*) Dresses, garments, crowns, head-dresses and other apparel; ornaments, belts worn by kings and other royal personages. Equipment of ordinary persons. Equipment of ascetics.

(*b*) Dress, clothes and garments, etc., of queens and other royal ladies; their ornaments, manner of dressing the hair and their upper garments. Dresses of ordinary women. Dresses of children.

(*c*) Elephants, horses, bullocks, cows and other domestic animals and beasts; their clothing, bedeckment, etc.

(*d*) War-chariots, carriages, cars, waggons, carts (two-wheeled and four-wheeled). Boats, small and large.

(*e*) Hunting and military expeditions. Musical instruments and music players; drums, tabors, etc. Dances concerts, etc.

(*f*) Buildings, houses, mansions, roads and streets. Interior parts of a house, its plan, kitchens and the utensils used there.

(*g*) Weapons and arms, swords, lances, bows, quivers, arrows, armours, shields, missiles and other weapons of war.

Our investigation of the above must clearly be based on photographs and pictures of paintings and sculptures available and on their description given in the Mahābhārata and other ancient works

(*a*)

Dresses of (1) Kings (2) Ordinary persons and (3) Ascetics.

On the Bharhut stūpa there are on the heads of kings and other persons, turbans, *Phetas* and *Rūmālas*; generally there are no crowns. The head dresses (Uṣṇīṣa) of kings have probably ornamental decorations, possibly golden embroidery.

In some places it is found that (just as many do even at present) the end of the head cloth (Paṭakā) is thrust in with a twist to give a flower-like appearance The style of wearing is generally uniform ; the only difference being a bulge large or small either to the left or the right. (See Plate I. 1). Generally all the *Pheṭās* are of the above description.

The *Pheṭā* was tied round the head with the right hand as at present, the left hand being used to make the folds smooth and plain. At Bhrahut there is a picture of a person winding the *Phetā* round his head. From this it appears that the ancient style was the same as that prevailing at present. (Plate I. 2.)

The fashion of wearing the Dhoti-like apparel cannot be said to be wholly similar to the present one. Even at the present day the Brahmins on the Benares side (as observed by us personally) bind a half of their dhoti round the loins and then binding a knot allow the other half and its skirt to hang down. The fashion in Plate I. 2.3 is nearly similar to that. This clearly emphasizes how conservative we have been in our ancient habits.

Ear-rings, large and small are shown in Plate I. 1. They were generally put on by all, be they princes, nobles or ordinary persons.

Round the neck of a king there was an ornament resembling our present ladies' *Cincapeṭī* in all respects except that it was a little broader ; below that was a necklace or garland consisting of four,

five or six strings of pearls. This necklace sometimes used to have little golden boxes. (See Plate I. 1, 2, 3.)

The males used to have a number of bracelets or armlets on their hands. At the time of battles they used the arrmours; on other occasions also they wore something like on present *Baṇḍī*. Its description is given under the heading *Hattī*. But generally the bodies of males were uncovered excepting the clothing for the lower part of the body and the upper garment *Uttarīya*. The head-dress *Pheṭā* generally seems to have played a necessary part of their equipment. Bhīṣma had white *Pheṭā* while fighting; in fact, the whole of the fighting dress of Bhīṣma was of white colour, as is seen from

पाण्डुरैश्चापि व्यजनैर्वीज्यमानो नराधिप ।

शुक्लवासाः सितोष्णीषः सर्वशुक्लविभूषणः ॥ म० भा० उ० १७८-७८.

There cannot have been any such difference in the style and contents of a king's dress and an ordinary man's dress. The main difference lay in the quality of the cloth—the king's apparel being silken and embroidered, the other being quite plain. The three chief constituents of male dress seem to have been the *Dhoti*, the *Uttarīya*, and the *Uṣṇīṣa*. There was the armour at the time of the battle. On other occasions however, *e.g*, when riding an elephant or a horse there does not seem to have been worn anything to correspond to our *Baṇḍī* which is only very rarely seen to be depicted. Ordinary people do not seem to have any other ornaments except the earrings, these being depicted in the ears of almost all men.

Ascetics are shown in many places as having long beards and also curls of matted hair. And in general it may be said that the ancient portrait of an ascetic generally corresponds to what a modern painter would draw if asked to execute the picture of an ancient ṛṣi. The ascetics were of course clothed in bark garments and in skin of deer, etc. The Mahābhārata often describes that the ascetics had a string of beads on their neck.

Incidentally, reference may be made to the fact that the art

of sewing which some regard as borrowed by us from the Mahomedans seems to have been an ancient indigenous art. Amarakoṣa (2.10.6) explains the word तुन्नवाय by saying that he is one who plies the profession of a needle (तुन्नवायस्तु सौचिकः). Amara also enumerates (2.8.65) the various kinds of clothes. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa III. 7 refers to the sewing of a cloth :—

यथा सूच्या वासः संदधीयात् । एवमेव एताभिः यज्ञस्य छिद्रं संदधेत् इति ॥

Rgveda II. 32.4 says :—

सीव्यत्वपः सूच्याऽछिद्यमानया ।
ददातु वीरं शतदाय मुक्थम् ॥

This proves that needles and clothes sewn with a needle were known from even Rgvedic times, though there might not be any specific mention of the kinds of clothes worn during the period, and though monumental evidence regarding the use of such clothes is not quite abundant and decisive. We may also conclude that sewed armours of cloth or of leather might have been a common commodity of manufacture.

To sum up, therefore, the evidence on this heading—we may in our pictures reasonably clothe men of ordinary class with Uttarīya and Uṣṇīṣa as their apparel and bedeck them with the earrings; the ascetic will have two bark garments or a bark garment for the lower body and a tiger's or deer's skin for the Uttarīya and a bead for the ornament.

Princes will ordinarily have two clothes only, but they naturally claim strings of pearls and diamonds round their neck, a *Keyūra* on their arms, and bracelets (gold or diamond or pearl ones) on their forearms, as also rings on the ankles—with armour when fighting.

(*b*)

Garments of (1) queens (2) other women and (3) children.

A broken portion of the Eastern arch at Bharhut has two pictures of women; of these one is shown to be plucking mangoes with her back towards us. Her lower garment reaches down to the ankles and she has the *Kaccha*. This would show that

women did fasten their garments as Brahmin ladies of Maharashtra do at present, on certain occasions at least. Her companion is standing by her with her face turned to us. One end of her garment is hanging down her shoulder which looks like the Uttarīya or the *Oḍhanī*. Unfortunately the portion about the breast and the abdomen being broken we cannot now say what it exactly might have been. Plate II. 1.2.

Richly embroidered *Paḍaras* are often shown over the heads of princesses. The leaf-ornament *Pimpaḷapāna* is quite distinct. Around the wrists there are always golden bangles which often reach the elbows. In some cases this series of bracelets seems to have been formed out of one long golden rod twisted round seven or eight times. Some bracelets have their ends like serpents' heads. Some queens are adorned with bangles set with pearls or diamonds. Plate II. 3

The peculiar feature in this plate is that this figure shows the queen wearing a bodice *cōṭī* covering the arms up to the elbow. We cannot take this to be a part of the upper garment falling on the arm nor as an ornament on the arm, as the uncovered part from the elbow upward, is shown thinner than the covered portion which, quite up to the shoulders is shown much thicker than the ordinary roundness of the arm. (See Bharhut Plate XXIV.)

In the case of dresses of queens or others ladies, one thing is most striking, and that is that all the women are shown almost half or semi nude. Practically no figure has any covering above the waist. Royal ladies evidently belonging to noble families are almost naked even when listening to the recitation of the Purāṇas.

Fergusson, in his "Serpent Worship" thus writes at pp. 92, 93 in this matter of female attire:—"The costume of women is more difficult to describe, though this is principally in consequence of its scantiness. Both at Sanchi and Amaravati, the women always wear enormous rings about their ankles and wrists and generally strings of beads round the neck, but their body clothing generally is limited to a bead belt round the body below the

waist. From this belt slips of cloth are sometimes suspended, more generally at the sides or behind than in front; and sometimes also a cloth, worn something like a dhoti of the male sex, is also added but when that is the case it is represented in the sculpture generally as absolutely transparent.

The most remarkable part of the female costume is the head dress, which is as voluminous as the body dress is scant. It is represented in Fig. 1, 2, 3, Plate III (Serpent Worship) and seems to consist of two long plaids of hair mixed with beads, and a thick roll of cloth, so as to form a sort of tippet almost covering the whole of the back of the wearer. Plate II 4, 5, 6.

It is, however, not only in the Topes that this absence of dress is conspicuous. In all the sculpture at Karli or Ellora or Mahavellipore, or in the paintings at Ajanta, the same peculiarity is observable. Everywhere indeed before the Mahomedan conquest nudity in India conveyed no sense of indecency. The wife and mother of Buddda are at times represented in this manner. The queen on her throne, the female disciples of Buddha listening to his exhortations, and on every public occasion on which women take part in what is going on, the costume is the same.

All this is the more remarkable, as in Buddhist books modesty of dress in women is frequently insisted upon—the probability is that the books that contain it are of very much modern date than our sculptures. It certainly is in direct conflict with their evidence."

These inferences drawn by Fergusson after an observation of the system of female costumes as represented in the Sanchi Topes, and sculptures at Ellora etc. and the paintings at Ajanta may be plausibly correct. But it would be preposterous to hold that the Aryan ladies on religous and other great occasions moved about in a state of nudity, throwing to the winds all sense of female modesty and that therefore before the Mahomedan invasion the Hindus were in a perfectly barbarous condition and that they did not know how to sew clothes and more than that to wear them; and that they learnt this secret only from the

Mahomedans. But apart from the evidence bearing on the knowledge of the art of sewing possessed by the Aryans of the Vedic times, which has been already alluded to above, it can be easily proved from other evidence that our ladies appeared in public well-dressed.

Some place Kālidāsa in the 5th centuary A.D. while others draw him further back to 1st century B.C. However this may be, the fact remains that this poet lived long before the birth of Mahomed the Prophet and of course long anterior to the first Mahomedan invasion of India.

When Śakuntalā went to the Court of King Duṣyanta, he could not very well see the contours of her body as she was veiled. The king says at the sight of Śakuntalā

कास्विदवगुण्ठनवती नातिपरिस्फुटशरीरलावण्या ।
मध्ये तपोधनानां किसलयमिव पाण्डुपत्राणाम् ॥ शा० ५. १३.

This sufficiently shows that in the times of Kālidāsa at least ladies belonging to the Roya family wore veils while attending the Court of Princes.

The bark-garment of Śakuntalā while she lived with her father in the forest before her marriage, did cover her breasts, as can well be seen from the following:—

शकुन्तला—सखि अनसूये अतिपिनद्धेन वल्कलेन प्रियंवदया नियन्त्रितास्मि ।
शिथिलय तावदेतत् ।
अनसूया—तथा (इति शिथिल्याति ।)
प्रियंवदा—(सहास्यम्) अत्र पयोधरविस्तारयतृ आत्मनो यौवनमुपालभस्व ।
मां किमुपालभसे ।

राजा—सम्यगियमाह

इदमुपहितसूक्ष्मग्रन्थिना स्कन्धदेशे स्तनयुगपरिणाहाच्छादिना वल्कलेन ।
वपुरभिनवमस्यां पुष्यति त्वां न शोभां कुसुममिव पिनद्धं पाण्डुपत्रोदरेण ।
शाकु० १. १९.

The garment was drawn over the breast so as to cover that part of the body and then the ends were tied in a knot. This might have been done through a desire to secure free movement of the body while watering the plants. Whatever the reason, this clearly shows that even ladies, living in forests and wearing

only barks of trees for their garments, never went about with naked breasts, at least not in the time of the poet Kālidāsa.

When दुःशासन was forcing द्रौपदी to the Court of dice, the poet says:—

सा कृष्यमाणा नमिताङ्गयष्टिः शनैरुवाचाथ रजस्वलास्मि ॥

एकं च वासो मम मन्दबुद्धे सभां नेतुं नार्हसि मामनार्य ॥

This and especially the words एकं च वासो make it clear that respectable ladies never went out with only one garment on. They might have used one cloth only in their homes, but dressed themselves with two when leaving the house. Even the one garment they wore, covered not only the lower part of the body but with one end of it drawn over the shoulders it also covered the back and front of the upper part of the body too. MBH has—

प्रकीर्णकेशी पतितार्धवस्त्रा दुःशासनेन व्यवधूयमाना ॥

ह्रीमत्यमर्षेण च दह्यमाना शनैरिदं वाक्यमुवाच कृष्णा ॥

पतितार्धवस्त्रा—With half the garment falling (from the upper part of the body.)

In course of the struggle the part of the garment covering the breasts fell down and so out of a sense of shame she bent down to prevent that part from being seen. (नमिताङ्गयष्टिः) Then too when she was brought into Court, in the same shameful condition, we have:—

तां कृष्यमाणां च रजस्वलां च। स्रस्तोत्तरीयामतदर्हमाणाम् ॥

वृकोदरः प्रेक्ष्य युधिष्ठिरं च । चकार कोपं परमार्तरूपः ॥

the underlined word स्रस्तोत्तरीयाम् here shows that ladies did wear an upper garment, Uttarīya which Draupadī had not on her body, when she was brought there. We have also in आश्रमवासपर्व २७. १६ शुक्लोत्तरीया नरराजपत्न्यः etc. which says that widows had white Uttarīyas. When Draupadī was insulted by Kīcaka in Virāṭa's Court he caught her by the upper garment. "जग्राह तामुत्तरवस्त्रदेशे."

Now are these references also to be stamped as interpolations being inserted in the Epic, after the Mahomedan conquest, when Hindu writers began to feel ashamed of their ancestors' nude

habits and adopted the custom of the new comers, which they also fathered on the distant epic heroines?

To sum up therefore:—the MBH mentions that females wore two garments. Kālidāsa also describes the heroine proceeding properly veiled to the King's court. The question then naturally arises:—why are the femles reprsented as half or even completely naked in the Sanchi, Amaravati, and such old sculptures. This can be explained as follows:—

The carvings were not left in the same condition in which we see them to-day, by the artists who had executed them. All these pictures had originally a thin coating of plaster, which was afterwards properly coloured by the artists. The result of this was that the projecting parts of the body were delineated with minute details. On the other hand, those parts of the body which were to be shown as covered by some sort of thin and transparent apparel were carved without any apparel. When however they received the final coat of thin plaster and colour these portions could be seen as if covered with clothing. The object was that when the plaster and the colour was laid, on-lookers thought that the body was seen through a thin clothing. In fact the artists must have sought to produce a realistic effect through a deluding contrivance.

The Daulatabad caves were burnt down by the order of Aurangzeb and the images therein were practically demolished with the noses and faces of images broken away. Yet when I had been there on a visit in 1908, there could distinctly be seen a corner of the ceiling which stood coated and coloured as described above. The colouring of leaves and flowers on the borders was also to a certain extent visible in some places. Should not this fact embolden us to decide that all the pictures had a similar coating which having vanished through time and demolition, we have now the pictures as they were first carved on stone, nude where they should have been covered.

Mr. Howell in his 'Indian Sculpture and Painting" says:—"The exaggerated thinness of legs in all the figures was probably

less marked when the sculptures had their finishing coat of plaster." (p. 104).

We may also refer to Fergusson's "Serpent Worship." Amaravati Plate LXIX. Here we have many female figures (Plate II. 7), each of whom has a garment round the waist. The flowing folds of the garment rolling at the feet are also visible. Back part of the figures too, shows a wearing of some kind. The thighs, however and the legs are bare. How is it possible to wear a garment in this manner: apparel on the waist and feet and flowing back but not visible in the front? The only possible explanation is that in order to produce an effect of transparent garment the limbs of the body such as thighs, etc., were first carved nude and that there was then to be given the finishing touch of coating and colouring. The artist must have intended to exhibit his 'Garment" partly in his plastering and completely in his colouring. If we were to regard the females as going about naked this would also be against the commandments of Buddhistic sacred books which ask the ladies to go in public well dressed. A nude female, equestrian or a nude lady riding an elephant, or attending the Courts or standing in the presence of saints, or listening to the exhortations of the Buddha, all this revolts against decency and common-sense.

We have also evidence belonging to the Rgvedic times which proves that it was the common custom then for women to cover their breasts. Rgveda VI. 64.2.

भद्रा दृदक्ष उर्वण्या विभास्युत्ते शोचिर्भानवो द्याम पदान् ।
आविर्वक्षः कृणुषे शुंभभानोषो देवि रोचमाना महोभिः ॥

This makes it clear that the simile of the Dawn discovering her breast could not have been given unless there was the practice of covering the breast.

All this must lead us to conclude that the women in the times of the MBH did wear garments which covered their breasts and also the full lower body, and we have accordingly prepared a simple illustration.

Having come to this conclusion, it remains to see the manner in which that upper garment was worn. We have an engraving under Amaravati section in Fergusson's 'Serpent Worship'; herein we find women wearing upper garment and that too, thrown over the left shoulder after turning it round the right side. We mean to follow this method. Plate II. 8. (Amaravati Plate IX).

Fergusson says about this :—

"In the circle of the right hand picture we have the same individual Siddhārtha after he had attained Buddhahood. In the robes in which he is always represented after apparently the second or third century of our era. On his right a woman, more fully clothed than any other woman in these sculptures (perhaps the artist did not want to give her a transparent dress B.) presents a boy to him, who catches hold of his garment as if entreating him to come with him. The boy's toys are seen in the fore-ground. It hardly seems doubtful, but that this represents Yaśodharā and her son Rāhula entreating the great ascetic to return home to them and reoccupy the position of his rank and his duties as a prince and a father." (p. 173—Serpent Worship).

The paintings at Ajanta compared with engravings at Sanchi, Bhilsa, Bharhut and Amaravati, show rather a different civilization. Most of the men are coloured black, even the queens are represented in the same colour, while the lips are generally thick. These appear to belong to the Dravidian civilization.

No man in Ajanta paintings—be he a king or an ordinary person—has a head-cloth Uṣṇīṣa or helmet, as we invariably see in the pictures at Sanchi or Amaravati. The king or any other divinity has a crown, while other men wear only a rag or stand bare headed. The male as well as female attire too, is different here. The lower garment has no role (*Sogā*) at Ajanta, there is only a cloth with strips, worn round the waist. This is not the case anywhere else. (Compare the Ajanta woman with the Sanchi woman).

Unlike the numerous bracelets at Sanchi and other topes in times of Aśoka, we have in Ajanta pictures very few ornaments on hands or round the feet. The topes represent women with bangles reaching their elbows and knees.

These and such other features show that the Ajanta paintings follow the Dravidian school, and hence the costumes therein tally exactly with those of people on the Malbar Coast. These paintings can be consequently dated four or five centuries later than the works at Sanchi, Bharhut etc.

The female costume and ornaments are clearly represented in plates III and IV and can well be taken as models for our illustrations of the MBH. Our picture of an Epic princess would be something like this:—A lower garment with loose flowing folds; a covering for the upper body running from below the right armpit across the breast and thrown on the back; the two ends of this garment let loose downwards across the arm; the end sometimes covering the head; a separate kerchief, embroidered, sometimes covering the braid of hair; plenitude of ornaments every where including the braid of hair—a *pimpalapāna*, big ear-rings, an ornament resembling our modern *Cincapeṭī* but broader than that and pearl necklaces round the neck; a crosswise necklace flowing from both sides and joined together below the breast with a flower-like ornament fastened to it. Gold, diamond or pearl bracelets on the arm and wrist; a waist belt occasionally with innumberable bells; anklets on the feet toolike our modern *Vāle*, but something bigger and thicker than these; there must also be an ornament below it corresponding to the jingling *Paijanas* of the modern times.

(*c*)

1. Elephants. 2. Horses. 3. Oxen. 4. Cows. 5. Buffaloes. 6. and other animals.

1. Elephants:—

In ancient India elephants were considered as the chief sign of royalty. They were of great use in war. Generally the defeat

P2513 8 21,237

or success in battle much depended on the numerical strength of elephants. The various trappings of elephants such as housings *Jhāla*, *Śirī* and garlands were the same as at present used by kings of to-day. This can be fairly seen from the caves at Sanchi and Amaravati and from the paintings at Ajanta. But no where in the paintings at Sanchi is seen the *Haudā* or *Aṁbārī* which are used at the present day for seating purposes on the backs of elephants. Only at Ajanta are seen paintings in which elephants furnished with *Haudās* with men seating in them are drawn. But such *Haudās* are very few. The general custom seems to have been of riding the elephants without any such contrivance. Perhaps this *Haudā* on the back of an elephant was extensively brought into vogue by the Mahomedan kings. Although kings rode elephants still they used to sit on the necks just as the elephant drivers do. The umbrella over the head of the king was carried by servants walking and supported by a long staff. The string of them round the neck of the elephant was tied as at present though a little more to the front. (Plate V 1). The servant who is sitting behind the king is carrying the sword of the king; and he is holding his banner by the hand. On the banner are drawn the Sun, the Moon and the stars. This servant has some clothing like the present day *Baṇḍī* on his body. Probably the king is also dressed with the same clothing. This is however doubtful because of the many ornaments worn on the wrist and the arm; but on the chest near the armpit are shown some folds which perhaps justify the supposition that the king wears some kind of corset like this servant. (Plate V 2).

The second elephant has got a more decoratively carved *Śirī* and it is tightened over the main saddle. It may be owing to the king not sitting there To-day also the usual saddle is a separate trapping and on this is tied an *Aṁbārī* or *Haudā* by ropes. The goads of elephants were of the same type as at present.

2. Horses :—

Horses are showu in various places. On them are carved kings, queens, common people and men holding banners and staffs. In some places there are some carvings of horses ridden by women holding in their hands a banner or a flag like that of *Jaripatakā*.

From the carvings, it is not clearly seen whether the horses had got bridles in their mouths or whether there was any other arrangement of the present day *Kothālī* type. The front of the bridle was very fine with *Cāmaras* on. This is also the case with the horses yoked to chariots. In several carvings at Ajanta, is shown the front rope by which the saddle is held (called *Bandha* or *Gorabandha.*) In the middle there is a girth (*Taṅga*) and a knot behind. Some of the Sanchi and the Amaravati pictures do not show the *Lendī* or the *Gorabandha*. The whole strength of the saddle rested on the girth (*Taṅga*). The Bharhut Plates have got *Lendī* and *Gorabandha* for the horses. The most noteworthy point is the absence of the stirrup. No where it is carved and no where it is drawn at Ajanta. Bharhut Plate XXXII shows a woman sitting on the horse. The horse has *Lendī, Gorabandha* but the stirrup is absent. The saddle is beautifully carved. (Plate VI 1).

At Sanchi (Maisay) Plate VI is depicted the scene of a king riding a horse and starting on procession. In this is shown *Lendī, Gorabandha* but no stirrup. (Plate VI 2).

There are many pictures of cows, buffaloes and domesticated and wild deer. But it may not be necessary to go into the details of these pictures.

In Plate XXII of Maisay's Sanchi and its remains, there are buffaloes, calves, stags and deer. Buffaloes are shown as swimming in water as at present. (Plate VI 3.)

No where at Sanchi, Bharhut and Ajanta is seen the palanquin. But descriptions of a palanquin occur in the Mahābhārata.

द्रौपदीप्रमुखाश्चापि स्त्रीसंघाः शिबिकागताः ।
स्थाध्यक्षगुप्ताः प्रययुर्विसृजन्तेऽमितं वसु ॥ आश्रम० १५.१२

In general, therefore, we may say that these relics in so far as the common animals are concerned may safely be copied in our Illustrations. Only the horses cannot be shown to have stirrups, which may be an innovation introduced by the Mahomedans. It may be mentioned in passing, the stirrups are also absent from where we should expect to see them in the old Pictures, Statues of Alexander the Great. It may, therefore, turn out that the stirrups were not known to the ancient Greeks also. The *Śibikās* present a more different problem in as much as we have no carvings of them. They may perhaps be introduced if necessary.

(*d*)

1. Chariots. 2. Carriages. 3. Carts.

Two-wheeled and four-wheeled.

Judging from the Sanchi and the Bharhut and the other Amravati Illustrations, it may be concluded that the chariots were drawn by two and very rarely by four horses. The chariots were very light. It can also be seen that the horses' tails were tied to their harnesses. The reason seems to be that the chariots being very low, the tails may not strike the man riding on the chariot, when the horses drive off flies with their tails. (Plate VII. 1).

Chariots had four wheels too. (Plate VII 2). It is not clear however if four-wheeled chariots were used in battles. The description of chariots is found in the Mahābhārata in various places. But it only says that the chariot had a flag and banners and that the flag had a certain ensign on it. The fact that the chariots had two wheels only, is clearly described in certain places. No mention is made about the cover or hood of the chariot.

A chariot, a bow and an inexhaustible quiver were given by Agni (God of Fire) to Arjuna before the conflagration of the Khāndava Forest. The Mahābhārata describes that particular chariot as follows:—

रथं च दिव्यश्वयुजं कपिप्रवरकेतनम् ।
उपेतं राजतैरश्वैर्गन्धर्वैर्हेममालिभिः ॥ १० ॥

पाण्डुराभ्रप्रतीकाशैर्मनोवायुसमैर्जवैः ।
सर्वोपकरणैर्युक्तमजय्यं देवदानवैः । ११ ॥
भानुमन्तं महाघोषं सर्वरत्नं मनोहरम् ।
ससर्ज यं सुतपसा भौमनो भुवनो प्रभुः ॥ १२ ॥
प्रजापतिरनिर्देश्यं यस्य रूपं रवेरिव ।
यं स्म सोम समारुह्य दानवानजयत्प्रभुः ॥ १३ ॥
नवमेघप्रतीकाशं ज्वलन्तमिव च श्रिया ।
आश्रितौ तौ रथश्रेष्ठं शक्रायुधसमावुभौ ॥ १४ ॥
तापनीया सुरुचिरा ध्वजयष्टिरनुत्तमा ।
तस्यां तु वानरो दिव्यः सिंहशार्दूलकेतनः ॥ १५ ॥
दिधक्षन्निव तत्र स्म संस्थितो मूर्ध्न्यशोभत ।
ध्वजे भूतानि नत्रासन्विविधानि महान्ति च ॥ १६ ॥
नादेन रिपुसैन्यानां येषां संज्ञा प्रणश्यति ।
स तं नानापताकाभिः शोभितं रथसत्तमम् ॥ १७ ॥

महाभारत. आदिपर्व अ० २५१ श्लोक १०-१७.

The above description tells us nothing more than that the chariot had a banner and many flags. The presence of flags is quite certain in it; but the Pictures of chariots which may be seen at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati have nothing of the kind. If it be supposed that flags were not used at times other than those of battles, still the chariots which are shown as engaged in fighting have also no flags engraved on them.

It seems that chariots had some times four wheels too. There is a four-wheeled chariot among the Pictures in the temple at Borobodur in the Island of Java. These pictures have been engraved by Indian Princes who emigrated from Gujarat and ruled over Java from the second century to 8th or 10th century A.D. The style of engraving the positions and dresses of the pictures at Borobodur are similar to those at Sanchi, Bharhut, Daulatabad and workmanship is exactly Indian. (Indian Sculpture and Painting, 126. Plate XXXVII). The special feature in this is that the tails of horses are not tied to the harness. A man riding a horse there looks as if he was tied to the harness; the reason is hard to explain. (Plate VII 2).

Chariots were generally drawn by two horses only. The drivers stood on the left side of the master. If the rider was a king, his servants holding the royal umbrella and the *Cavarī* often stood behind him in the same chariot. (Plate VII 3).

Such kinds of chariots as in Plate may be seen among the engravings at Sanchi, Amaravati and Daulatabad. It seems that there was generally not much unoccupied space on the chariots. It cannot be decided where the weapons were stored and where the banners and other smaller flags, mentioned above, were erected at the time of fighting. We have never as yet come across any chariot showing this all among the engravings at any one of the places mentioned above.

The chariots of great men were generally drawn by four horses. The above mentioned description of Arjuna's chariot, which was given to him by Agni, has the word अश्वैः (in the plural form) which shows that it had horses more than two.

In *Śākuntala* the king describes his chariot horses

धावन्त्यमी मृगजवाक्षमयेव रथ्याः ।

in which he too uses the word in the plural.

From this it is plain that the Pictures of chariots belonging to great men in the Mahābhārata should necessarily have four horses. The fighting chariots must also be shown to have ample space to store up weapons etc. They must have flags drawn on them, though there may not be pillars or domes. From the ensign on the flag, it was known from a considerable distance, that a particular warrior was riding a particular chariot. It cannot be decided where the smaller flags were fixed. At the time of the उत्तरगोग्रहण, a battle incident in the Virāṭaparvan Arjuna describes to Uttara which warrior occupies which chariot from the ensigns on its flags :—

जाम्बूनदमयी वेदी ध्वजाग्रे यस्य दृश्यते ।
शोणाश्चाश्वा रथे युक्ता द्रोण एष प्रकाशते ॥ ६ ॥

ध्वजाग्रे सिंहलाङ्गूलो दिक्षु सर्वासु शोभते ।
भारताचार्य पुत्रस्तु सोऽश्वत्थामा विराजते ॥ ७ ॥

ध्वजाग्रे गौवृषो यस्य काञ्चनोऽभिविराजते ।
आचार्यवरमुख्यस्तु कृप एष महारथः ॥ १३ ॥
यस्य काञ्चनकम्बूभिर्हस्तिकक्ष्या परिष्कृताः ।
ध्वजः प्रकाशते ..... वैकर्तनः कर्णः ॥ १५ ॥
यस्य चैव रथोपस्थे नागो मणिमयो ध्वजः ।
एष दुर्योधनस्तत्र कौरवो यशसावृतः ॥ २२ ॥
यस्तु श्वेतावदातेन पञ्चतालेन केतुना ।
वैदूर्यमयदण्डेन तालवृक्षेण राजते ॥ २४ ॥
एष शान्तनवो भीष्मः सर्वेषां नः पितामहः ॥ २६ ॥

म. भा० वि० अ० ५६

From this description, it is plain that flags must be drawn on chariots.

It appears from the description of the flag of Duryodhana's chariot, that flags were erected near the place where a warrior stands, as mentioned in the *Bhagavatgītā* "रथोपस्थ उपाविशत्"

Several kinds of weapons were stored in a chariot :—

रथ आरोप्यतां शङ्खश्चक्रं च गदया सह ।
उपासंगाश्च शवल्यश्च सर्वप्रहरणानि च ॥

म० भा० उ० ८२. ११

Upāsaṅgas means quivers kept in a chariot. Hence it would not be possible to store up so many kinds of weapons in a chariot unless the chariot was spacious enough to contain all these.

Several references in the Mahābhārata tend to show that chariots had two wheels only :—

ते हयान् रथचक्रे च रथेषां चापि मारिष ।
प्रहीतुं प्रचक्रमुश्चैव क्रोधाविष्टाः समन्ततः ॥
रथचक्रं च कर्णस्य बभञ्ज स महाबलः ।
मग्नचक्रे रथे तिष्ठदकम्पः शैलराडिव ॥
एकचक्ररथं तस्य तमूहुः सुचिरं हयाः ।
एकचक्रमिवार्कस्य रथं सप्तहया यथा ॥

द्रोण० १९७. ५३. ५४.

It also appears that the driver stood in the chariot to the left of the warrior, *Rathin*. At the time of Uttargograhaṇa, Northern Conquest,—it is said that Uttara, who was then the driver of

Arjuna's chariot, sat down suddenly being terrified when Arjuna blew his conch horn:—

स्वनवन्तं महाशङ्खं बलवानरिमर्दनः ।
प्राधमद्बलमास्थाय द्विषतां लोमहर्षणम् ॥
ततस्ते जवनाधुर्ना जानुभ्यामगमन्महीम् ।
उत्तरश्चापि संत्रस्तो रथोपस्थ उपाविशत् ॥

विराट० ४६, ८१९

Our chariots should, therefore, be generally two wheeled, except perhaps where they are specially mentioned to be four wheeled. They will have to be shown to be very light but more spacious than those at Sanchi etc., though of the same pattern in as much as the store of weapons etc., will have when necessary to be located on them. The inside of the chariot will have the banner, with the driver to the left and the warrior to the right—both in a standing position. The chariot to be some times decorated with gold and occasionally covered with leather—and sometimes with iron sheets plated with gold. Finally, no top will have to be shown, this being wanting in all available sculptures. They would have two and sometimes also four horses, though we find a mention of sixteen horses yoked on big ceremonious occasions. The other details will necessarily follow the Sanchi and other models.

Carts or Wagons. Boats and other Conveyances.

It appears that at the time of King Asoka—about 250 B.C. wagons drawn by oxen were exactly similar to the loading carts which we see at present. In fact, there is no difference whatsoever. Wheels, frame, yoke tied to the poles with a rope, nails on both sides of oxen necks and other things were then exactly as we see at present. The oxen had nose strings too. Plate VII 4 shows a cart, loaded with bricks or some other material for building a hut, just arrived with the oxen unyoked for rest. (See Bharhut Plate XXVIII 3). A covering top of bamboo too seems to have been spread over the cart at that time, as it is at present. The Amaravati engraving shows the driver sitting on the poles near the frame, as he sits at present and the oxen

are shown to be in full speed. (Amaravati Plate XIV, Serpent Worship, page 185).

Such kinds of carts or wagons drawn by oxen might have been used by common men in going from one place to another in the Mahābhārata period. A number of such carts loaded with weapons chiefly with arrows in proportion to a warrior's ability to discharge them, probably accompany a chariot in fighting.

Karna, at the time of fighting with Arjuna, requested Duryodhana to keep hundreds of cars loaded with arrows behind his chariot, as Arjuna had inexhaustible never emptying quivers.

Boats.

Boats were spacious and were decorated too. They had canopies in order to keep off the sun and rain. Likenesses of imaginary beasts or birds were engraved on their ends, as horses are carved on the ends of Deccan boats at present; and the helms were made like tails of fishes. These boats were rowed by two, four, or six rowers according as they were small or large. The boats were also decorated with garlands of flowers. (Plate VIII 1) (Sanchi and its Remains, Plate XXI).

Canoes.

Canoes were capable of holding four or five persons. They had paddles and poles. They were built of planks fitted together. Chips were nailed on their joints. They were generally in use at every fording place in order to cross rivers. (Plate VIII 2) (Sanchi, Serpent Worship, Plate XXXI).

In this respect also, the Sanchi and the Bharhut models will have to be largely drawn upon.

(*e*)

1. Military and Hunting expeditions.
2. Musical instruments.
3. Dancing and Singing.

When going on invasions and hunting expeditions, kings used chariots, horses and elephants for conveyance. Chariots were drawn by two horses and sometimes by four. Even the kings

used to ride the elephants without anything like the present *Haudā*. *Haudās* were also used. Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati carvings do not show *Haudēs*. Thousands of people accompanied such expeditions. In these the trumpeteers were at the fore front then followed men bearing lances, bows, and other implements of war, and lastly the king in a chariot or on elephant surrounded by his attendants. Amongst them were the bearers of the roya umbrellas, the *cāmara* and also water carriers. (Plate IX.) In this is seen a big procession One portion is shown as having entered the city gate and proceeding by a street. (Plate X.)

In this there is a scene of battle. On one side some people have attacked the town. They and the towns men are fighting with one another. Elephants, horses and footmen are taking part in the struggle. Swords, clubs or stones, bows and shafts are being freely used The scene in this Plate is a fine example of a battle scene, which we may safely copy for our work.

Musical Instruments.

In the carvings at Sanchi, Bharhut and Amaravati we find different sorts of Musical Instruments. Amongst them we find Musical Instruments like horns, which are mentioned in the *Bhagvatgītā* as Paṇava, Āṇaka and Gomukha. There were trumpeteers. Big drums to be beaten by one hand or two hands are also shown. There is a piped instrument and some times two pipes are being played by one man, at one and the same time. Also there is an instrument like our *Mṛdaṅga*. Conches were blown. There were cymbals *Jhāñjas* and a special stringed musical instrument which was sounded by some small peg of wood or metal.

Dancing, Singing etc.

Scenes of dancing and singing are scarcely found at Sanchi and Bhilsa. Only at Borobedur in Java we find in one of the carvings, a Dancing and Singing Party. (Plate XII 1) (Indian Sculpture and Painting, Sanchi Plate XXVI).

This shows a dancing girl exhibiting her skill in dancing. Amongst musicians there are two girls who play on flutes, etc. The one is blowing a pitcher; the other is working the cymbals and behind the dancing party, there are three or four women

who play also the cymbals. The whole scene is fine and interesting.

(Bharhut Plate XVI upper Bas Relief) this also depicts a scene of dancing and singing. Four women are dancing and eight other companions are keeping time with them with different instruments. (Plate XII 2).

The lute, *Vīṇā* is no where seen either at Sanchi or at Ajanta though the Mahābhārata describes it in the following :—

समृद्धरथहस्त्यश्वं वेणुवीणानुनादितम् ।
शुशुभे पाण्डवं सैन्यं तत्तदा भरतर्षभ ॥

आश्रम. २५. १३.

(*f*)

1. Houses, Storied Houses, Roads,
2. Inner apartments of Houses
3. Kitchens.

At Sanchi on the lintels and in other places are shown many views of houses, storied houses, streets and roads. We have as yet no definite authority for saying that houses were built of stones. But as stones were used in carving out lintels we have no reason to doubt that they might have been used in building houses. Some of the scholars believe that most of the houses were made of wood or timber and that even the walls of forts were of wood. But this opinion requiries more cogent reasons than have hitherto been advanced to support it. For instance in Kashmir even at the present day houses are built of wood as a precaution against earthquakes. But can we say therefore, that all houses in Kashmir are of wood? Though no ancient buildings on a large scale have come down to us, still it would be rash to conclude that all buildings, palaces, and ramparts of cities were all built of wood only.

Ramparts built in bricks and walls of houses are shown at many places in the Sanchi carved works; there are many plastered walls that might possibly be of stones or bricks. We can even say that the walls are plastered as stone walls would otherwise look clumsy. There was on certain occasions no necessity

of plastering a structure when it was built of bricks only. Even now in some places it is usual to have well built walls of bricks pointed with mortar only without being plastered at all. In the Mahābhārata a description is given of a house plastered with me.

तत्र च स्थूणास्वदनं सुधामृत्तिकलेपनम् ।
लाजेल्लापिकवृक्षाल्यं मुक्त प्राकारतोरणम् ॥

म० भ० इ० १९१. २१

In most cases, houses have two stories and rarely only three. They have many windows with railings or banisters. Scenes are shown where ladies and gentleman with their elbows resting on the railings, are sitting there to see a procession. (Plate IX.)

The city gates were wide enough to allow chariots and elephants to pass through them; on both sides of the gate, there were guard-rooms with windows. (Plate XIII.)

In some scenes, there are drawn both males and females resting on railings of a terrace for looking out.

The outer side of a roof is shown in Plate. There is a battle scene (Plate X) where soldiers standing on ramparts and the walls of forts, are discharging arrows. There are also archers throwing arrows even from the windows. From this it is clear that the windows were not very small but were wide enough to allow the standing archers to throw arrows.

It seems that roads and streets were very spacious for usually they must be so broad that elephants, horses and chariots could easily traverse them. On both sides of the streets, there were buildings with two or three stories with windows where females gathered to see the street amusements or processions. Such scenes must evidently have given rise to the phrase *Kuvalayita-gavākṣāḥ*.

Inner apartments.

In the inner apartments, there should have been wooden posts or pillars; the walls were of stones or of bricks; they were plastered with clay or chunam (lime) and we may suppose that there were drawings and paintings on the walls.

The size and shape of the pillars were probably different from the present standard; props were placed on the heads of pillars and then beams were laid on them as at present.

In the interior of the houses there were different square court-yards—this may be inferred from the Daulatabad Caves where such court-yards can be seen existing even now. Houses had upper stories, windows and terraces.

The palaces of Duryodhana and Duḥśāsana are described as having many square yards.

तिस्रः कक्ष्या व्यतिक्रम्य केशवो राजवेश्मनः ।
वैचित्र्यवीर्यं राजानमभ्यगच्छदरिंदम ॥

म० भा० उ० ८९. १३.

The Cooking Department and Cooking Utensils etc.

The appliances and utensils for domestic purposes were, it seems, similar to the modern ones. Scuttle-formed baskets, stone mortars, the slab and the muller all these existed in those days. Women used to go for fetching water from the lakes or reservoirs with jars of copper, brass or earth. And these jars were placed on the left part of the waist and held in the armpit as is done even at the present day. (Plate VI 3.)

(Sanchi; Serpent Worship; Plate XXXV Fig. 2).

(*g*)

Weapons. (Sword, Lance, Bow and Arrow, Armour and other implements of war).

The shape of Nakula's shield was that of half moon.

नकुलः खड्गमादाय चर्म चार्यर्धचन्द्रवत् ॥

से० ७४. १४.

The armour was such that at times it yielded when struck by weapons.

ततः संधाय नवतिं निमेषाच्चतुरो रणे ।
विभेद कवचं राज्ञो रणे कर्णः शितैः शरैः ॥
तद्वर्म हेमविकृतं रत्नचित्रं बभौ पतत् ।
सविद्युदभ्रं सवितुः श्लिष्टं वातहतं यतः ॥

क० ४४. ५१. ५२

From this we can infer that some lace work and diamond work was done on the armour.

At times, when the armour was broken, the body of the man was exposed.

तस्य निर्मुच्यमान्स्य कवचात्काय आबभौ ।
समये मुच्यमानस्य सर्पस्यैव तनुर्यथा ॥

वि० ५७. २९

The armours sometimes were made of steel.

बभ्रमुः समरे नाराचान्मृन्दन्तः शतशो नरान् ।
कार्ष्णायसः तनुत्राणान्नगश्वरथकुञ्जरान् ॥

द्रोण० ३२. २७

So it is clear that steel armours were freely used during the age of Mahābhārata.

Sometimes we find the description of a golden armour; but it cannot be ascertained whether the whole armour was made of golden sheet or golden rings or whether it was made of some other metal and then laid with gold work outside.

काञ्चनैः कवचैर्निष्कैर्मणिभिश्च महाधनैः ।
अद्भुतैर्हस्तकेयूरैः रुग्भिश्च समलंकृतम् ॥

भी० १६. २२

All the other weapons of war such as swords, bows and arrows, lances, spears and pikes and different missiles and maces, club and slings are also found. They are shown in Plate XIV and are drawn from Bharhut.



PLATE I—1



PLATE I—1



PLATE I—1



PLATE I—2



PLATE I—3


REMAINS
OF
TORAN
OR
E. GATEWAY



PLATE II—3



PLATE II—3

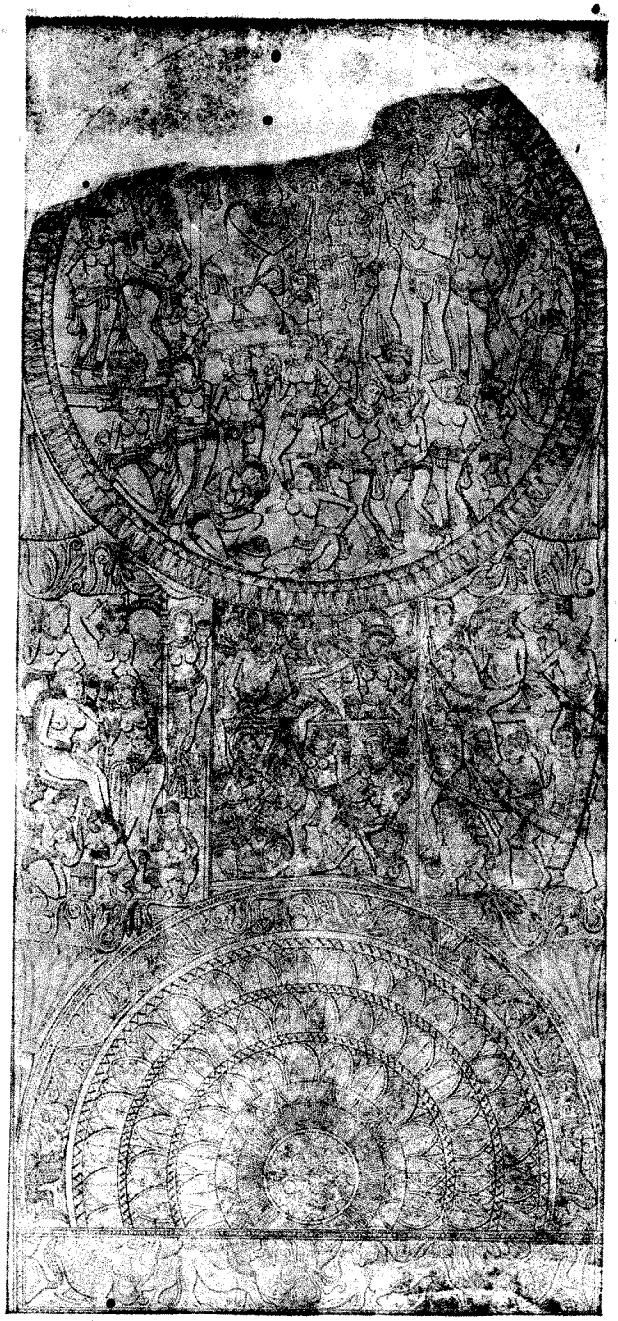


PLATE II—7

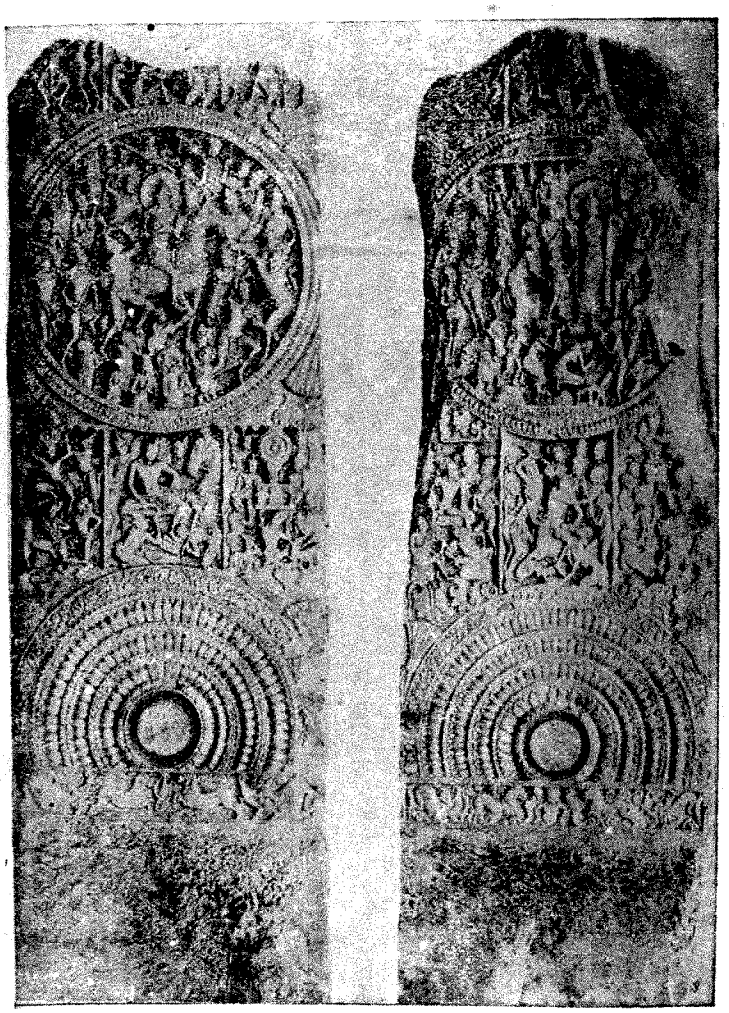


PLATE II—8

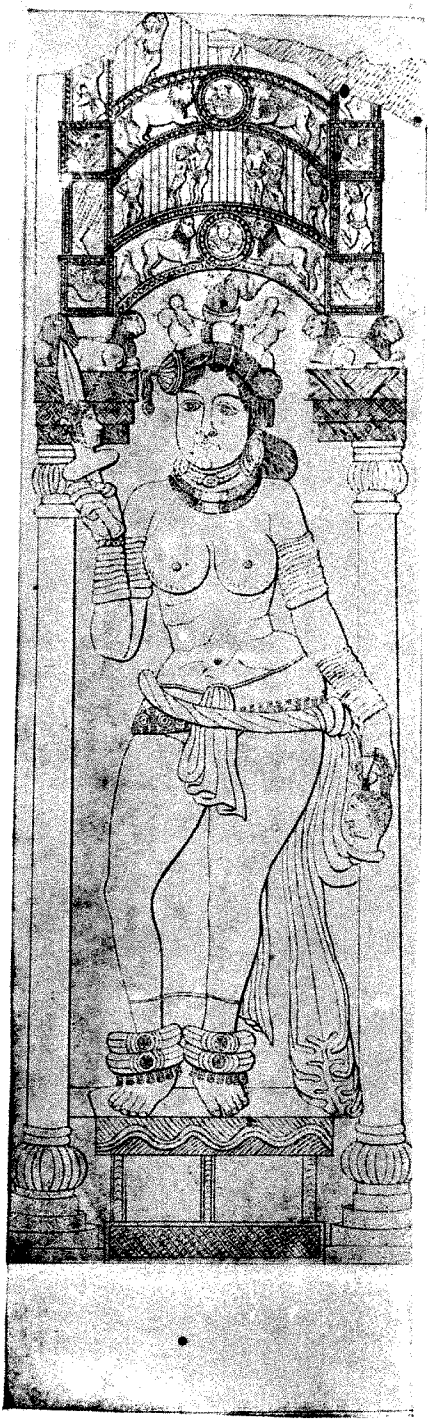


PLATE III—

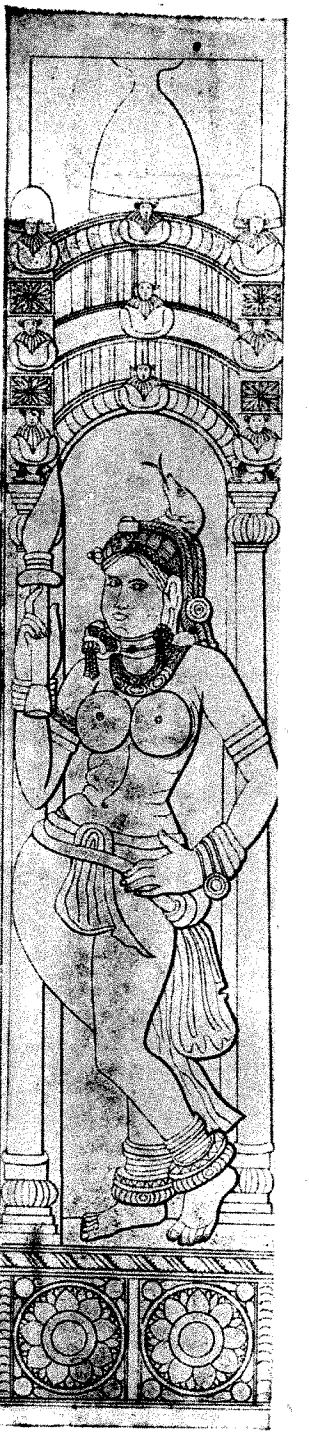


PLATE IV—



PLATE V—1

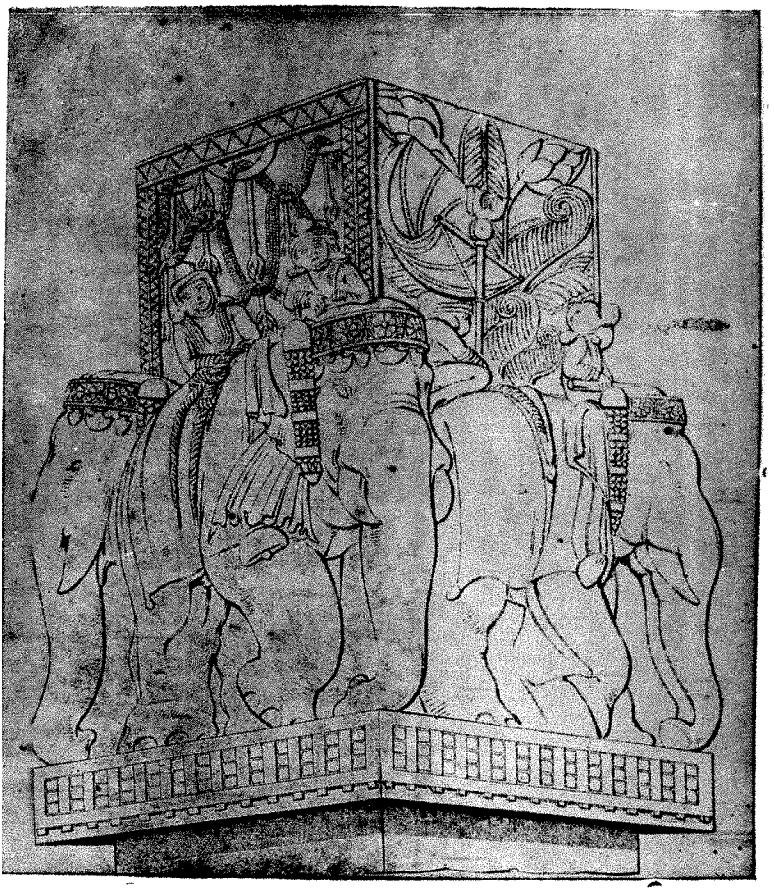


PLATE V—2



PLATE V— Elephants and their goads.



PLATE VI— Horses.



PLATE VI—1

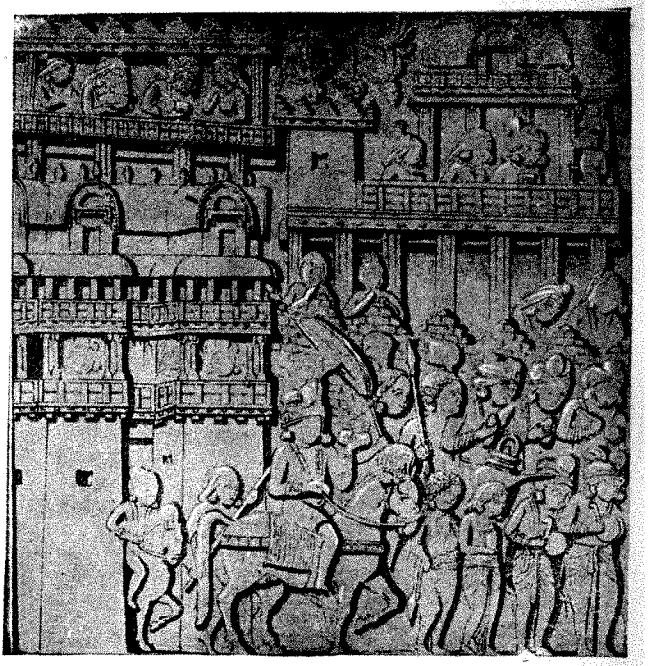


PLATE VI—2

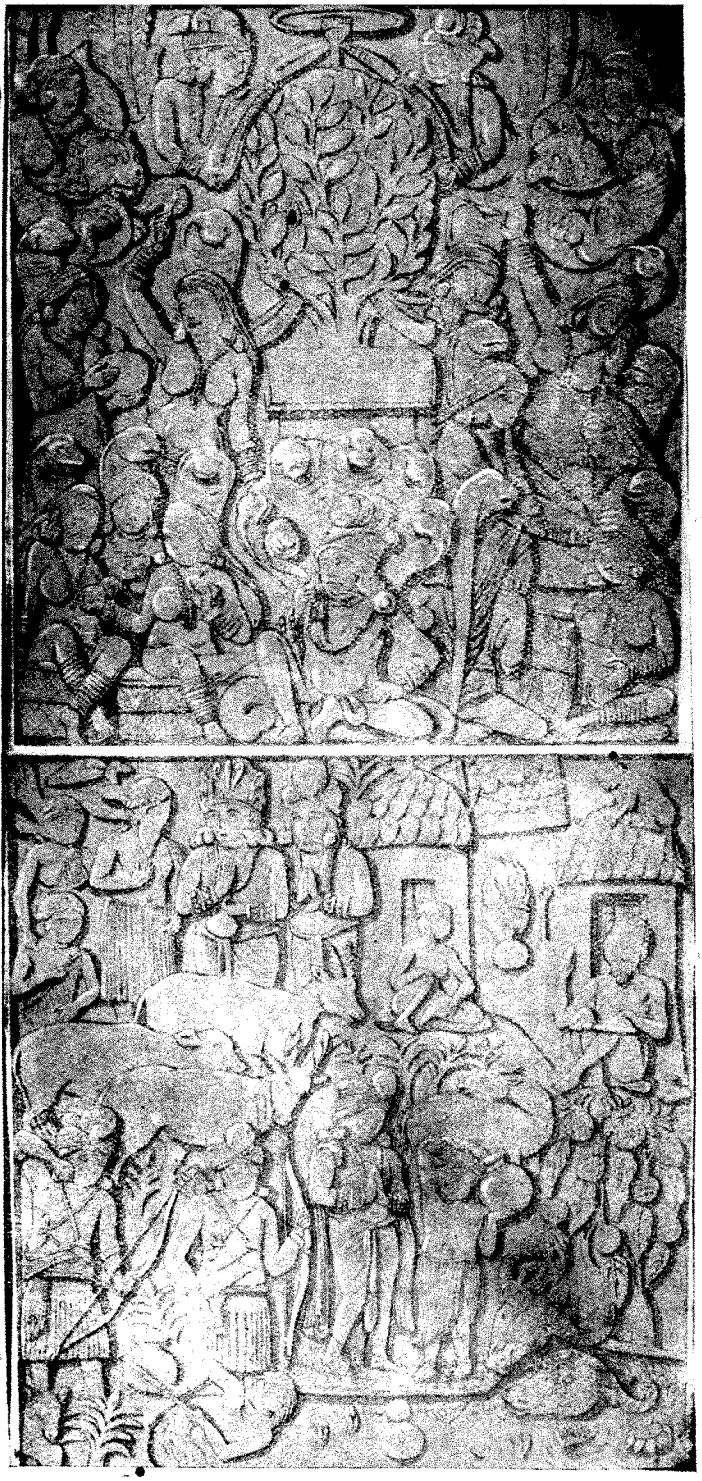


PLATE VI—3



PLATE VII—1



PLATE VII—2

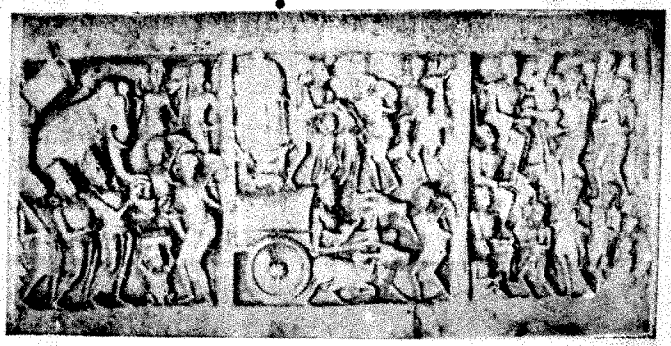


PLATE VII—3



PLATE VII—4



PLATE VIII—1

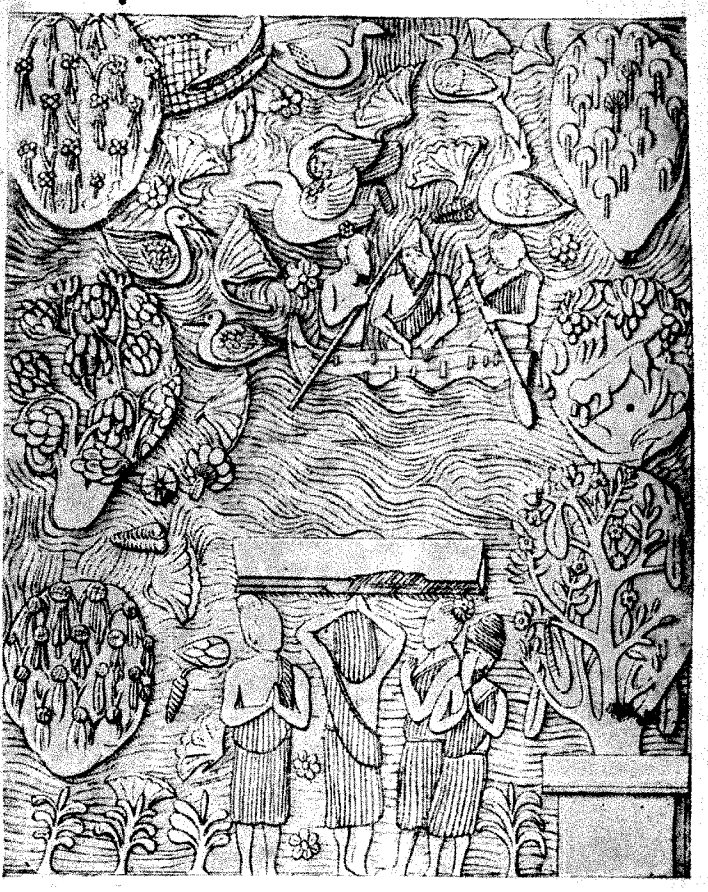


PLATE VIII—2

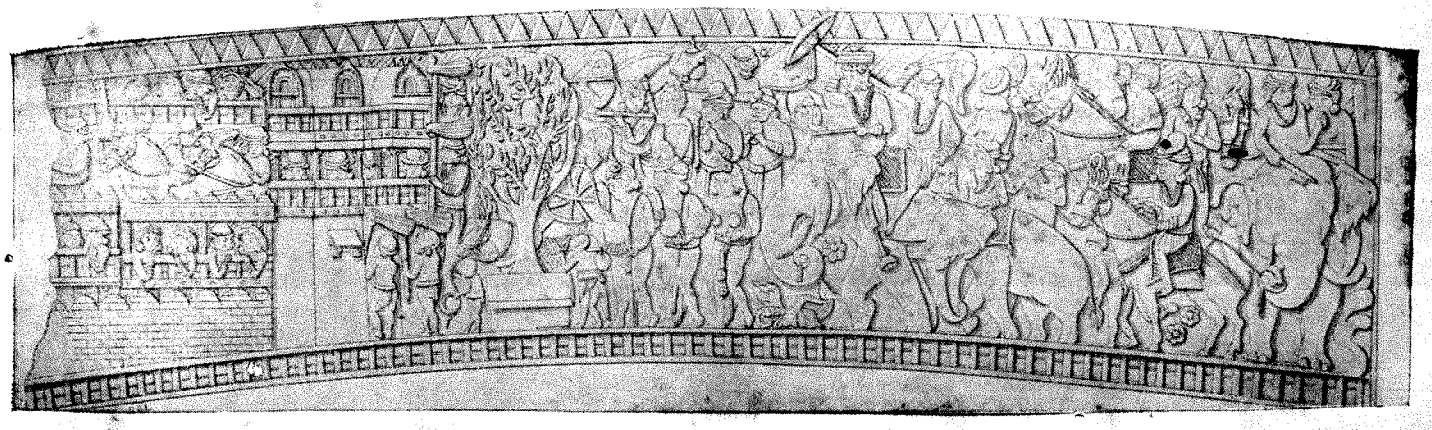


PLATE IX—

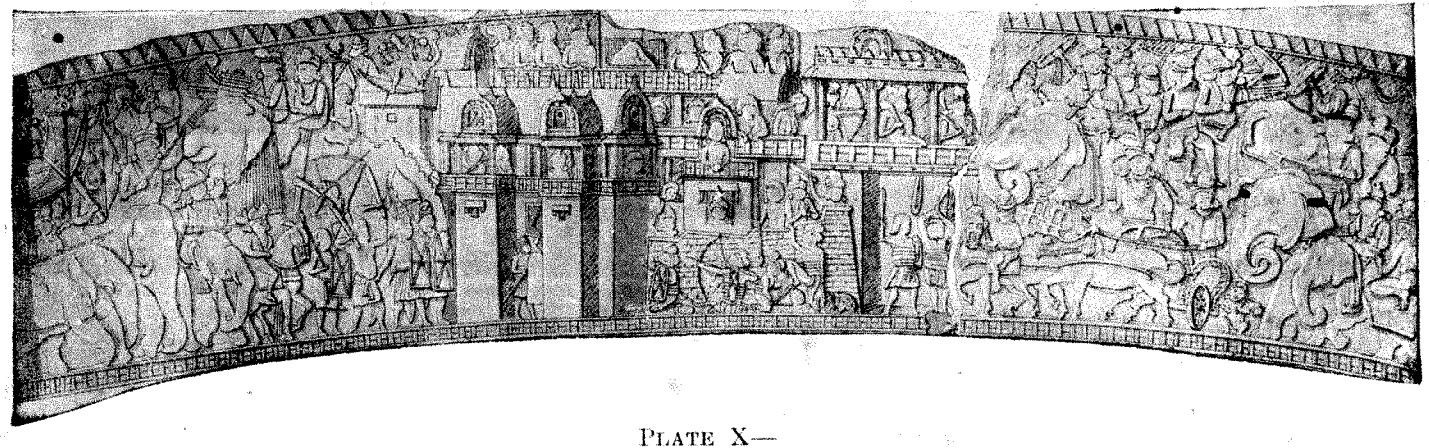
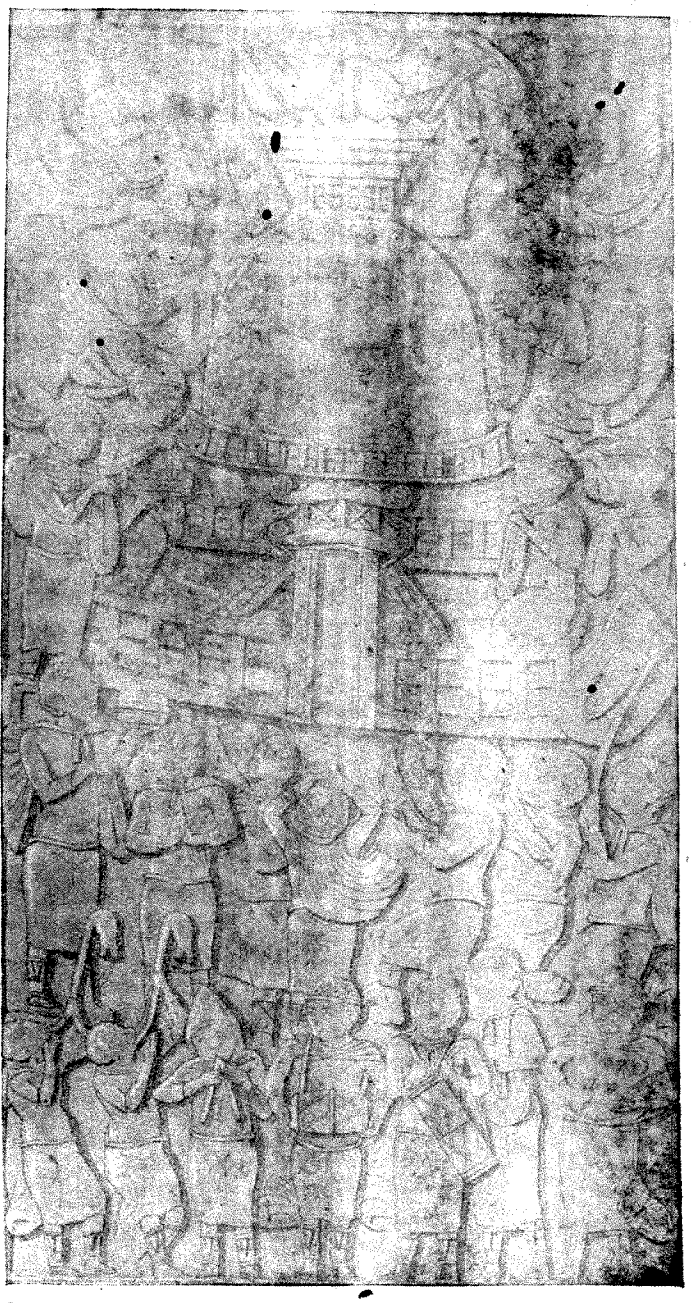


PLATE X—



PLATE XII—



Musical Instruments.

THE JAIN MANUSCRIPT-BHANDARS AT PATAN A FINAL WORD ON THEIR SEARCH*

THE LATE J. S. KUDALKAR

Patan, or, to call it by its ancient name, Anhilwada Patan, was the capital of the ancient Empire of Gujarat. It was founded by Vanarāja, the first king of the Chavada line, in the year A. D. 745-6. Ever since its foundation Patan has been, and still is the true centre of Jainism in Gujarat, and under the beneficent royal patronage afforded to this religion in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, its 'ācāryas' or preceptors devoted themselves to writing historical, religious, ethical, philosophical, literary and other works. Although this work was continued in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries and still later, the works composed during the 11th to the 13th centuries are of far greater importance than those composed later. Though successive waves of Mahomedan conquests razed this once magnificent city "with its eighty-four squares and eighty-four bazaars" to dust and left not in its place a single stone of its beautiful architectural monuments, still its ancient intellectual treasures, the famous manuscript collections somehow did not meet the same fate as did the celebrated libraries of Alexandria.

About the importance of these manuscript collections at Patan Prof. Peterson says:—"I know of no other town in India, and a few in the world, that can boast of so great a store of documents of such venerable antiquity. They would be the pride and the jealously guarded treasure, of any University Library in Europe." It has been the rare good fortune of His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad to have these valuable ancient treasures located in his State and just as they were formerly preserved through the patronage of King Kumārapāla, the Bhoja of Gujarat, so they

*Read at the First Oriental Conference Poona, November 1919. This paper is based mainly on the Report made to the Baroda Government by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal, M.A., Sanskrit Librarian, Baroda Central Library, and on the reports made to the Bombay Government by Sanskrit Scholars deputed to examine the Patan Jain libraries.

have been finally searched and delivered from oblivion by His Highness the Maharaja Shri Sayaji Rao Gaikwad, the modern Bhoja of Gujarat. This paper is but a short history of this final search.

The gift of books to Jain preceptors for the purpose or reading and reciting them to the people is considered a great merit among the Jains. Hence they spent, and still spend, large sums of money for getting manuscripts written. King Kumārapāla is said to have established 21 large Bhandars, while Vastupāla, the minister of King Vīradhavala of Dholka, had also established three big Bhandars at the enormous cost of 18 crores of rupees. Rich and pious Jains also devoted large sums of money for this purpose. This is evident from the important "Praśastis" (donors' colophons) given at the end of some of the manuscripts. This will account for the large accumulation of mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Patan.

It is a matter of regret, however, that out of the Bhandars founded by Kumārapāla and Vastupāla and other Jain ministers none is at present in existence. No single mss. written at the command of Kumārapāla is to be found in the Patan Bhandars. The reason of this is that Kumārapāla's successor, Ajayapāla, was a great hater of Jains and Jainism and tried his best to destroy Jain literature. Minister Udayana and others at that time removed the mss. from Patan to Jesalmere and other unknown places. The palm-leaf mss. at Jesalmere are mainly collections from Patan. The libraries founded by Vastupāla met the same fate, perhaps at the hands of the Mahomedans. The palm-leaf collection of Sheth Hathibhai contains a ms. of "Jitakalpa-Bṛhat-cūrṇī" by Śrī Candrasūri, copied in Samvat 1284, at the end of which there are a few verses in praise of Vastupāla. This is probably the only remnant of the vast collection formed at the command of Vastupāla

The importance of Patan manuscript libraries was first noticed by Col. Tod, the famous author of the "Annals of Rajasthan", in June 1832. Among the objects deserving especial homage in

the city of Anhilwada; Col. Tod mentions two: (1) the statue of the founder of Anhilwada, Vanarāja and (2) the "Pothi-Bindar" or library of the Jains. Years before his visit he had known of its existence from his own Guru, who was a Jain and who was equally anxious to see it. This Guru, who traced his descent from Hemācārya, was allowed to see the library The catalogue formed a large volume, but there was a want of correspondence between the catalogue and the contents of the boxes which numbered forty. As Col. Tod and his companion had not enough time to copy any important works, they could not do anything beyond obtaining, while halting at Baroda, a copy of "Kumārapāla-Caritra", instead of the "Vanarāja Caritra" which they really wanted.

Since Col. Tod's times another European to visit this Patan Library was Alexander Kinloch Forbes, the well-known author of the "Rāsa-Mālā". This must have been sometime between 1848 and 1856, the latter date being that of the publication of his "Rāsa-Mālā", for writing which he obtained, through the kindness of the Baroda Officers at Patan, "a copy of Hemācārya's 'Dvyāśraya-Kośa' and other valuable materials". He also saw there a list of about 500 works.

The next scholar to see these collections at Patan was Dr. G. Bühler, who visited the place first in November 1873, but during his short stay of 36 hours could not effect anything. He again visited Patan in March 1875, and, through the help of the Baroda officers and after endless conferences with the Nagarseth and the Panch, under whose control these libraries were, he was admitted to some of the Bhandars. The first Bhandar which he saw was (1) the *Pophaliāpādāno* Bhandar, established by Rūpavijayasūri of Ahmedabad. It contained four large boxes, three of which were filled with paper-mss., while the fourth contained also some palm-leaf mss. The number of mss. was between four to five hundred. There was no general catalogue, but in each dabhada a list of the contents was found. (2) The

second library, which Dr. Bühler visited, was called *Bhābhānapā-dāno* Bhandar. It consisted of 27 dabhadas, containing upwards of 300 paper mss. and had a general catalogue. (3) A third collection, called the *Saṅghavīnāpōdāno* Bhandar, was so far accessible to him that he got its list for inspection as well as such books as he selected for copying. This Bhandar contained three boxes with nearly 500 mss., all of which were written on palm-leaves. Its catalogue was not accurate, so a new one had to be prepared, and several rare works were got copied.

This was all that Dr Bühler could do in this visit; but he came back again to Patan in May of the same year to see the famous Hemacandra's Bhandar. But he had great difficulties The keeper was obstinate and with great persuasion showed some seven bagfuls of dilapidated paper mss. which contained between 600 and 700 mss. But he did not show the real Bhandar. On this occasion Dr. Bühler got admission to a fourth minor Bhandar. But after he had left Patan, the keeper of the Hemacandra Bhandar informed his willingness to show the real Bhandar to Dr. Bühler. As Dr. Bühler had no time to come back, he asked his agent to visit the Bhandar. It contained 40 boxes and had no catalogue, though there was one in Tod's and Forbes's time. Dr. Bühler sent a Shastri to make a new catalogue of this Bhandar and at the same time got a catalogue of another Bhandar belonging to the Tapāgaccha of Patan. This collection was very extensive and important. It contained 80 dabhadas with upwards of 1200 mss.

As a result of the glowing report made by Dr. Bühler, the Bombay Government sent Dr. (now Sir) R. G. Bhandarkar to Patan to examine the mss. collections. Dr. Bhandarkar visited Patan in December 1883 in company of Prof. A. V. Kathavate of the Gujarat College. They could stay there only for a week and consequently could not examine minutely all the libraries. Still they collected a good deal of information with regard to these collections and actually visited some and compared their contents with their lists.

At that time there were the followiug eleven libraries in Patan :—

1. Bhandar of Pophaliānopādo.
2. Another (small one) in the same ward.
3. Bhandar of Bhābhānopādo.
4. „ „ Saṅghavīnopādo.
5. „ „ Rājavijaya Dayāvijaya.
6. „ „ Limdinopādo.
7. „ „ Vādi Pārśvanātha Mandir.
8. „ „ Rūpasāgarji.
9. „ „ Ratnavijaya, Khetarsi Mahal.
10. „ „ Mākāmodi Vānia.
11. „ „ Hemacandra, in the charge of Svarupacandra Yati.

To only the first four of these Dr. Bhandarkar could get access, the others he could not see either because their keepers removed themselves from Patan or avoided showing their collections. Dr. Bhandarkar believes that the palm-leaf mss. added to the Deccan College collection in 1880-81 originally belonged to No. 10 above. The keeper of Hemacandra's Bhandar even after two visits did not show the Bhandar.

Of the first four collections, to which Dr. Bhandarkar had access, No. 1 was stowed in 80 boxes, each box containing a list of its contents. There was also a general list which was got copied. Dr. Bhandarkar and his friend examined some of the boxes at random and comparing their contents to the entries in the general list, found the latter to be correct. The number of mss. in this Bhandar was 2801. This appears to be the Bhandar of the Tapāgaccha referred to by Dr. Bühler. Dr. Bhandarkar and his friend spent two days in examining this Bhandar but could effect little. They selected 94 mss. for examination but as all of them would have taken many days to examine, they inspected only 9 of these carefully. Then they spent a day in examining collection No. 3. There the paper mss. were stowed in 27 boxes and there was one palm-leaf mss. Of these only 11 were

inspected carefully. A day more was devoted to the examination of collection No. 4. All the mss. there were on palm-leaves and some of these were very valuable. As Dr. Bühler had prepared a catalogue of this collection, which was found to be correct, further examination of this collection was not pursued. Collection No. 2 appeared to be made up of several collections belonging to different individuals. Here in a large box there were smaller ones containing mss., besides 19 more palm-leaf-mss. and four more on paper. Then in another smaller box there were 14 dabhadas; 13 more dabhadas in another box, and in a still another large box there were two dabhadas. The total number of mss. in all these 46 dabhadas is not given by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Besides these Jain Collections Dr. Bhandarkar also came across three collections of Brahmanic works in Patan.

All the searches of Patan Bhandars made so far had been, as will be noticed, incomplete and superficial. These searches led the Baroda Government to undertake a more thorough examination of *all* the collections in Patan and for this purpose they deputed on 17th Nov. 1892 Mr. Manilal Nathubhai Dvivedi to Patan. Mr. Dvivedi worked there for 5 hours every day sitting in the dark and stuffy cellars where these mss. were kept, opened each and every dabhada, examined about 9 to 10 thousand mss., prepared their title lists there and then and later on prepared a classified, alphabetical and annotated list of the same. Mr. Dvivedi submitted his report to the Baroda Government on 16th July 1893.

Now the names of the Bhandars found by Mr. Dvivedi in Patan are as follows:—

1. Bhandar of Pophaliā-ādo, No. 1.
2. „ „ „ No. 2.
3. „ „ „ No. 3.
4. „ „ Khetarsi.
5. „ „ Bhābhānopādo.
6. „ „ Limdinopādo.
7. „ „ Vādi Pārśvanātha

8. Bhandar of Śaleevādo.
9. „ „ Dhandhervādo.
10. „ „ Lunkā Upāśraya.
11. „ „ Ranchoda Bhāradvāja.
12. „ „ Manishankar Desai.

Of these 12 Bhandars, No. 11 and 12 were in Brahmin houses and were not Jain Bhandars, but No. 11 contained many Jain works and No. 12 all Brahmanical works. Mr. Dvivedi was not able to see the Bhandar of *Saṅghavīnopādo* as the keeper was away but from the other Bhandars that he saw he concluded that, as nearly 90 per cent mss. were repeated in all these Bhandars, and as this Bhandar consisted entirely of palm-leaf mss. and all palm-leaf mss. had their copies on paper, there must be no new mss. to be seen in this Bhandar. The *Pophaliāvādāno* Bhandar No 3, was a new one and was in the house of one Vasta Manekchand. Collection No. 11 in Dr. Bhandarkar's list is the same as No. 9 in Dvivedi's list. It was so far believed to be the largest and most valuable collection, because Hemācārya lived there; but on examination this was found to be not true and there were not many new works therein. Besides, the mss. were in such a dilapidated and disorderly condition that it was impossible to make a list of them. Mr Dvivedi was shown more than a thousand of these dilapidated mss. and he thinks that perhaps many more may have been kept concealed from him. Makamodi, owner of No. 10 in Dr. Bhandarkar's list, reported that his collection was burnt away. Collection No. 8 in Bhandarkar's list was not in its place and the name-Rūpasāgara-must have been that of a Yati halting here for the time being. Collection No. 5 in B.'s list is the same as No. 8 in D.'s list, but of this only about 200 mss. were shown to Dvivedi and the rest were reported to have been stolen away. No. 10 in Dvivedi's list is a new Bhandar not seen by Dr. Bhandarkar. Of these 12 Bhandars in D.'s list *Pophaliāvādāno* Bhandars No. 1 & 2 contained some palm-leaf mss. and *Khetarsī* Bhandar (No. 4 in D.'s list) consisted entirely of palm-leaf mss. There were no palm-leaf mss. in any of the other Bhandars. All

these collections-except Nos. 2 & 7 in D.'s list-had no lists, and even lists of these were incorrect.

After the detailed examination of all these collections Mr. Dvivedi prepared one list of 374 works for taking copies thereof and another list of 2619 works grouped under 19 classes. Of many of the works recommended by Mr. Dvivedi for copying full translations or brief adaptations were prepared in Gujarati by the Baroda Government. It was so far the most detailed inspection of these Bhandars made.

Mr. Dvivedi was closely followed in December 1893 by Prof. Peterson, deputed by the Bombay Government. He visited Patan with the chief object of obtaining access to the supposed Bhandar of Hemācārya. But like all his predecessors he too failed, as the guardians had left the place. Prof. Peterson, however, was able to see in the large Bhandar in the Pophaliapādo (No. 1 in Dr. Bhandarkar's list), a new large box full of palm-leaf mss. of great antiquity. This box was reported to Dr. Bhandarkar to contain only vestments but which really turned out to be a library in itself. These mss. were all freely shown to him and he secured extracts from upwards of 200 books. In his fifth Report Prof. Peterson gave extracts of 93 palm-leaf mss., and also of 12 paper mss. preserved in the *Dhandhervādo* Bhandar and he expressed the hope that these extracts may stimulate the Jain community, and other parties concerned, to take effectual steps for dragging these books into the light again. It seems that Prof. Peterson was not then aware of the detailed search made by the Baroda Government, through Mr. Dvivedi, referred to above, as the full report of it was published in 1896 in Gujarati.

Prof. Peterson's hope was however practically fulfilled by the Jain community bestirring itself and publishing through the Jain conference at Bombay a list of the most important of the Jain Bhandars in India, which included those at Patan also. But one flaw of this list was that it excluded those mss. which were not Jain. Then, a Jain Yati, Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī of Baroda, who had been working for 5 or 6 years in these libraries at Patan

and who had access to all the mss., won the confidence of the keepers of the Bhandars and persuaded a millionaire in Bombay to give Rs. 41,000 to provide a suitable building at Patan for housing all the Bhandars under one roof. This building, called Vādi Pārśvanātha Temple Building, is getting ready. Muni Kāntivijayajī is also said to have discovered some new mss.

The Central Library at Baroda was organised as the central public library of the Baroda State in the year 1911 and a separate Sanskrit department of the same was opened in the year 1912 by amalgamating in it by transference several Sanskrit collections that were in tha city of Baroda. Among these the Government Sanskrit library at Vithal Mandir, the largest Sanskrit collection of mss. and printed books till then existing in the city, came to be included. This library contained the copies of more than 500 mss. from the Patan Jain Bhandars that Mr. Dvivedi had got prepared. A vigorous search of mss. all over India was started with the help of a manuscript-expert with the idea of making the Baroda Central Library Sanskrit collection the most extensive and an ideal one for the whole of Gujarat. The copies of the Patan mss. already in the Central Library reminded the Baroda Government of the importance of the Patan collections of which they had already finished a detailed search before. So the Baroda Government ordered, in the middle of 1914, the then Sanskrit Librarian Mr. C. D. Dalal, M.A., who was himself a Jain and a scholar in Jain literature, to report once more on the Patan manuscripts and to submit a scheme for the publication of the important Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujrātī mss. deposited in the Patan libraries. As the first search made by Mr. Dvivedi was undertaken mainly with the general idea of knowing the importance of the manuscript works at Patan and of translating the most important of them into Gujarātī, that search was not so critical and the copies made of some important mss. therein were not so accurate, as would serve the purpose of undertaking the publication of a series with their

correct text. This series, it may be stated here, was started, a year later after this second search, under the name of the "Gaikwad's Oriental Series." It was therefore found absolutely necessary to make a second and more critical search of the Patan mss. libraries. Mr. Dalal began the search in about October 1914 and spent full twelve weeks at Patan working about 14 hours a day. He examined very carefully all the 658 palm-leaf mss. that were in all the Bhandars and about 1000 select paper mss. The most favourable features of this search were that (1) Mr. Dalal was himeslf a devout Jain, (2) by his critical study of Jain literature he had won the good opinion of the Jain community, and (3) he was given a valuable assistance by Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī of Baroda in getting free access to all the Patan Bhandars. Hence this search was the most successful and has been final. Not a single ms. in Patan was left being examined. A detailed *catalogue raisonne* of all these mss. will be published shortly in the "Gaikwad's Oriental Series."

Mr. Dalal found altogether 13 different collections of mss. at Patan. Some of these were made up of several which were previously located separately elsewhere. The following is a short account of Mr. Dalal's search :—

1. The palm-leaf collection in the Saṅghavi's Pada.

The first and foremost among the Patan Bhandars is the famous palm-leaf collection in the Saṅghavi's Pada. The collection, it appears, was put in order in the time of Munīndra Soma and lastly by Vṛddhisāgara in Samvat 1914. The list of the mss., prepared by the latter from a Jain, mentions three large boxes containing altogether 434 Pothis. It is only a list of titles and very incomplete and inaccurate. Some fifteen mss. from these were taken to Surat and one ms. (on Nyāya) was stolen away. When Dr. Bühler visited Patan, he was not allowed access to this Bhandar; but he managed to get a list prepared of this collection by Narayan Shastri of Surat. But it was not done accurately, as is evident from Dr. Kielhorn's report

or mss. where he has singled out only 28 important works out of which 3 only are new. Dr. Peterson also tried his best to have access to this collection and examined for himself the mss. before publishing the list prepared by the Shastri, but he could not. The Jain Conference Office then deputed a Shastri to prepare a list of the Jain Bhandars at Patan. But that list also was found to be quite unreliable. It mentioned 397 Pothis.

Such being the case Mr. Dalal decided to prepare a detailed descriptive catalogue of all the palm-leaf mss. in order to place once for all before the learned world the actual contents of this Bhandar. Mr. Dalal here not only discovered many new and important Sanskrit and Prakrit works hitherto either unknown or known to have been lost—both Jain and Brahmanical; but also came across quite a new Apabhraṃśa literature. This Apabhraṃśa literature when published, would help us in writing a grammar of this language as it is the immediate source of not only Gujarātī but Marāṭhī, Hindī, and many other Indian vernaculars.

The collection was in a highly deplorable condition. The keeper of the collection was very obstinate and would lend only 20 or 30 mss. at a time; others were lent only when these were all returned. This took not only most of the day but also half of the night in inspecting the mss. The collection, when it was catalogued, contained 413 Pothis; most of these not only contain a lot of single works but consist of more than one ms. The keeper of the collection has now been furnished with a list of the mss. in his collection with particulars of author, date of composition and age of ms.

2. *The collection in Vakhatji's Sheri.*

The collection of the Saṅgha deposited in Vakhatji's Sheri Pophalia Vada, is the largest collection at Patan containing 2686 paper mss. and 137 palm-leaf ones. The paper mss. are well arranged, but 81 small palm-leaf mss. were bundled up in cloth pieces without wooden boards and cloth covers. Now they are put between wooden boards and are well taken care of. Dr. Peterson

has described 93 palm-leaf mss. of this collection in his 5th report The following three collections are also deposited here:—

(1) The collection originally belonging to Limdi's Pada is transferred here. It contains 425 paper mss., some of which are rare and old. It contains the oldest paper ms. at Patan written in Samvat 1356-57.

(2) New copies of some of the rare mss. in Patan and eleswhere. No. of mss. is 366.

(3) Some of the mss. belonging to Vasta Manek.

3. *The collection belonging to the Vādi Pārśvanātha's Temple.*

The collection belonging to Vādi Pārśvanātha's Temple contains only 4 palm-leaf mss. But the importance of this collection lies in the fact that, it contains a large number of paper mss. copied from the old palm-leaf mss. in about Samvat 1480-1490 under the orders of the then existing pontiff of the Kharatara Gaccha. In them we see not only rare and reliable mss. of Jain literature, but also good mss. of literary and philosophical works of the Brahmins and the Buddhists. Most of these mss, in spite of their age, are in a good condition; while only some of them are about to fall to pieces. The number of paper mss. is 744.

4. *The collection in the Agali Sheri at Pophalia Vada.*

The collection in the Agali Sheri Pophalia Vada consists of 3035 paper mss., 22 palm-leaf mss. and 1 cloth ms. The collection is especially rich in the mss. of the sacred books of the Jains and commentaries thereon; some of these were copied at the expense of a Jain millionaire, Chadushah, of Patan in the beginning of the 16th century of Vikrama. There are also many mss. of Jain Rāsas in old Gujarātī.

5. *The collection in the Bhābhāno-pādo.*

This is the collection of the Vimala Branch of the Tapāgaccha at Bhābhāno-pādo. It is made up of two collections—one containing 522 and the other containing 1814 paper mss. The lists of both the collections are horribly incorrect, marginal notes on the last leaf being taken as the names of the mss. Most of the

mss. are ordinary and not very old. However, a few rare mss. were also found in this collection.

6. *The collection in the Sagara's Upāśraya.*

The collection in the Sagara's Upāśraya contains 1309 paper mss., most of which are ordinary and consist of only a few leaves. There are besides 108 mss. belonging to Bhava-Sāgar.

7. *The collection belonging to Maka Modi.*

The collection belonging to Maka Modi consists of 230 paper and 2 palm-leaf mss. The paper mss. are generally old. The 75 palm-leaf mss., purchased by Dr. Kielhorn for the Bombay Government in the year 1880-81 at Patan, belonged to this collection. This collection is at present desposited in the Sagara's Upāśraya.

8. *Collection of Vasta Manek.*

The collection belonging to Vasta Manek is, for the time being, deposited in the Sagara's Upāśraya. It contains 521 mss. most of which are 300 to 400 years old.

9. *The Khetarvasi Collection.*

The importance of the collection of the Khetarvasi is solely due to its 76 palm-leaf mss. It was here that the 6 dramas of Vatsarāja, the minister of Paramārdideva of Kalingar, were discovered. Besides some rare works of the Jains, it contains old palm-leaf mss. of "Gauḍavaho", "Rāvaṇavaho" and "Pulinda's Supplement to the Kādambarī". The mss. in spite of their age are in a good state of preservation.

10. *Collection in Mahalaxmi's Pada.*

The collection in the Mahalaxmi's Pada contains 8 palm-leaf mss. and a few incomplete paper mss. Among the palm-leaf mss. there is a copy of an anthology by Lakṣmaṇa who calls himself possessor of a hundred thousand sūktas.

11. *Collection in Adavasi's Pada.*

The collection in the Adavasi's Pada contains 2 palm-leaf mss, one of which was copied not very long ago on blank palmyra leaves gathered from old mss., and some paper mss. of no importance.

12. *Himmatvijayaji's collection.*

Himmatvijayaji's Collection. This is a private collection and mainly consists of works on architecture of which the owner has made a special study.

13. *Lavanavijay's Collection.*

Lavanyavijay's collection. This contains paper mss. of an ordinary nature, most of which are at Palanpur.

This finishes the list of the Bhandars existing at present in Patan.

The well-known collection in the Dhandhera-Vada, belonging to the Shripuja of the Punamiya Gaccha, is now dispersed. It was the subject of a law-suit between the present Shripuja and the Jain community of Patan. No one knows where the mss. have been removed. There is still a lingering hope that the mss. may again see the light of the day. The collection, it is said, originally contained 500 dabhadas or wooden boxes. The late Swarupachand Yati, the keeper of the collection, would allow no one to see his mss. After his death a quarrel arose about the post of the Shripuja and during that time some of the important mss. were sold away to the agents of the British officers entrusted with the search of mss. Mr. Dvivedi was allowed to see the collection and he suspected that some mss. were kept away from him. Mr. Dalal came across a list of the collection (containing about 50 dabhadas) as it existed some 15 years back and found a few titles like "Yadusundara", "Lalitavilāsa", "Suraga-Candrodaya", not mentioned in this list. European scholars believed, and still seem to believe, that this was the collection of the great Hemacandra; but this is really a misconception. Hemacandra belonged to the Purnatalla Gaccha, while the keeper of the collection was of the Purnima Gaccha. Mahimaprabha, a Shripuja of the Purnima Gaccha in the Dhandhera vada, has written "Ambada Rāsa", wherein he traces his spiritual descent from Vinayasundara and not from Hemacandra. There were two other branches of this Gaccha—one at Chanasma and the other at Lade, both in the Baroda State. The collection

seems to have been very comprehensive in its scope and to have contained a large number of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarātī mss., most of them written by the Yatis of the Gaccha and hence correct. There were no palm-leaf mss. and the paper mss. too, most probably, were not older than three centuries.

Besides the Jain collections, Mr. Dalal examined 4 collections in the possession of Brahmins. But nothing of importance was discovered.

From all this vast treasure of ms.-literature to be found in the Patan Bhandars, one can pick out more than 300 priceless gems which would be the envy of the learned. There are at least 140 such works in Sanskrit, about 37 in Apabhraṃśa, 45 in Prakrit and 80 in the Gujarātī language. As all these and many more will be described in detail in the *catalogue raissonne* to be published in the "Gaikwad's Oriental Series" we would here only write a word or two about the few important features of this ms.-collection.

Among the Sanskrit works there are many which are so old and rare that there are hardly more than one or two copies of them in existence and these are to be found only in the Patan Bhandars and sometimes a copy at Jeselmere or Cambay. Some works, which were till now known to exist only through their Tibetan or Chinese translations, have their originals here at Patan, such, for instance, as "*Hetubindu Ṭīkā*" of Vinītadeva (700 A.D.) or "*Tatvasaṁgraha*" of Śāntarakṣita and its "*Pañjikā*" by Kamalaśīla (750 A.D.). So "*Vikramāṅkā-abhyudaya*" of King Bhūlokamalla Someśvara, III (1127—1138 A.D.), and the six dramas of Vatsarāja (12th century A.D.) are quite new discoveries.

In the Prakrit works several are important but the large fund of Apabhraṃśa literature, extending over 10,000 verses, has a unique importance. Uptil now, we had to rest content with the Dohas contained in the 8th Adhyāya of Hemacandra's Grammar and the 8th canto of his Prakrit "Kumārapāla-Carita." *The search of Patan Bhandars has revealed works containing about* 10,000

verses. The Apabhraṃśa works, are divided into *Saṁdhis*, and the Patan Bhandars contain *two extensive works divided into* Saṁdhis: (1) "Pañcam-Kahā, or Bhavisayatta" 26 Saṁdhis (2) "Ārādhanā," about 100 Saṁdhis; and *also several works called Saṁdhi.* The Apabhraṃśa works were also in the form of Rāsas, the fore-runners of the Gujāratī Rāsas and the Patan Bhandars contain such Rāsas as "Antaraṅga Rāsu," "Nemi Rāsu," "Paumsiri Rāsu." All these works, numbering about 15 Saṁdhis and 22 Rāsas, if published, would give ample material for researches in the origin of Gujarātī philology.

There are also a few old Marāṭhī works found in these Bhandars, which will be useful for Marāṭhī philology. These are:—

Kalānidhi—the only Marāṭhī palm-leaf ms. in the Patan Bhandars—treats of various arts (sacrificer's, singer's etc.); the ms. is incomplete, composed, probably by Vaijanātha in prose which is a specimen of old Marāṭhī; ms. probably not earlier than Samvat. 16th century. *Dhātuprayoga* on alchemy; paper ms. *Yogarājati-aka* written in old Marāṭhi, paper ms.

Then for the Gujarāṭī language the importance of the Patan Gujarātī mss. is immense. The palm-leaf ms. of the Revantagiri Rāsa, though undated, seems to have been written in the beginning of the 13th century of Vikrama. Besides this there are three palm-leaf mss. written between 1330 and 1360 containing some prose passages. The oldest paper ms. in Gujarātī is dated Samvat. 1357.

The *Auktikas* which are short grammatical treaties on the element of Sanskrit syntax meant for beginners, contain explanations and examples in the Gujarātī language of their time; and hence they are important to the student of old Gujarātī. The late Dr. Dhruva published one such Auktika "Mugdhāvabodha" by Kulamaṇḍana, Samvat 1460. from a single ms., but now more than half a dozen reliable mss. of this work are available. The Patan Bhandars contain 5 other Auktikas.

To the student of Gujarātī philology, therefore, the Bhandars now supply ample reliable materials which he can never expect to

find elsewhere. The growth of this language can now be traced without any break from the 11th century upto the present time. No other vernacular in India possesses such a treasure of valuable and trustworthy records of such a high antiquity.

Although the oldest dated ms. at Patan was copied in 1062 A.D. there are about half a dozen undated mss. which were written earlier. The script of the mss. of "Damayantī," Candra Mahattara's Prakrit commentary on "Sittari" and other mss. tell us that they were written in the 10th Century A.D. Of the dated mss. there are about a dozen written in the 12th century and about one hundred in the 13th century. Most of the mss. copied in the 15th century were written at the command of Devasundara and his pupil Somasundara, pontiffs of the Tapa Gaccha, who seemed to have done much for the resuscitation of the old works. The latest palm-leaf ms. at Patan is dated Samvat 1497; while the oldest palm-leaf ms. in the South of India is dated A.D. 1428.

Among the places where the mss. were written we find the names of Patan, Cambay, Dholka, Karnavati, Dungarpur, Vijapur, Chandravati and Prahladanapura. Among the names of the kings in whose reigns the mss. were written, those of Siddharāja, Kumārapāla, Viśāladeva and Sāraṅgadeva are found very often.

There is a peculiar system of numbering the pages. On the left side there are the usual numerical signs but on the right the pages are indicated by distinct letters of syllables. Thus 1 is indicated by Sva (स्व), 2 by Sti (स्ति) 3 by Śrī (श्री), 100 by Su, (सु), 200 by Sū (सू) and so on. Old paper mss. are generally marked with numbers, but some, as in the Vādi Pārśvanātha Bhandar, are numbered like palm-leaf mss. from which they were copied directly.

The Bhandars contain only one palm-leaf ms. with pictures; and more than a dozen illustrated manuscripts. They also contain 2 mss. on cloth—one of which, written in Samvat 1418 consists of 92 leaves measuring 25 x 5.

There are more thar 12,000 paper mss. in the Bhandars. But the Bhandars contain no paper mss. written in the 13th century of Vikrama. Although there is a paper leaf dated Samvat 1329 in a palm-leaf ms. the oldest ms. in the Bhandars was copied in Samvat 1356-57. Paper mss. were illustrated in gold. The Bhandars contain about half a dozen such manuscripts. The largest ms. is 36" x 2½" while the smallest (Pustika) in 4½" x 1½".

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Triennial Elections of the Institute took place in June last and new office-bearers for the next triennial 1921-24 were elected on the 6th of July.

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The Annual meeting of the General Body of the Institute was held as usual on the 6th of July 1921. As some additions to and alterations in the Report for 1920-21 were suggested at the meeting, it was sent back to the Regulating Council for the necessary action. The Report was finally adopted at a meeting of the General Body on the 5th of November 1921, and appears in the present issue of the Annals in its final from.

* * * * *

A Pansupari ceremony was held at the Institute on Wednesday, the 19th of October, 1921 to welcome Dr. Clarke, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Chicago, and Mrs. Clarke, who have been touring in India for the last five or six months for a close and first hand study of the religion and history of Indian people. Dr. Clarke addressed the guests of the evening a few words emphasizing the present day tendencies in the West to understand the Eastern people, their religion and philosophy. Some discussion followed, after which the ceremony terminated.

* * * * *

We are glad to announce that the Government of His Excellency Lord Willingdon has been pleased to sanction an annual grant of Rs. 1000/- towards the preparation of the New and Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Institute. Our heartfelt thanks are due to His Excellency for the interest he has been taking in the work of the Institute since its very inception and even though away from its *locale*, he has maintained his interest in the literary work of the Institute.

* * * * *

We are thankful to the two distinguished members of the Institute *viz.* Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Ph. D. and Rev. R. Zimmermann Ph. D., who have undertaken the preparation of a compact Bibliography of Indian publications on Indological subjects. The Bibliography, as

it is prepared from time to time, will be published in th our Annals and is expected to prove very useful to schol ted in Oriental research

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The First volume of the Proceedings of the First Or ference is already in the hands of the delegates of the and the public. Part I of volume II, containing Vedic, A Buddhism, Classical Literature and Philosophy sections in January 1922.

* * * * *

The Building operations of the two side Halls of th commenced duly in July. Unfortunately, serious di opinion arose in September, as regards certain specificatio the contractor and the Consulting Engineer; and the wor stopped since the middle of September and has not re even now. The whole matter has been referred to Diwa K. R. Godbole M. C. E. for decision and we hope the ma settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

* * * * *

The Honorary Secretary of the Kama Oriental Insti bay, has desired us to make the following announcement

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (172, Sukhadwala Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay), invites competitive essa Surroash K. R. Cama Prize of the value of Rupees 5 following subject :—

"A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in the First Four Chapters of the Ahnuvaiti Gatha in due with grammar and philology, with notes and comment necessary and with the substance of the whole at the end

The essays should be designated by a motto and accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of th tor and his address and should reach the Honorary of the Institute on or before 15th July 1922. The c is open to all.

* * * * *

The second Oriental Conference will be held at C behalf of the council of Post-Graduate Teaching of th

University on the 28th of January 1922 and will continue its session to January 31st. His Excellency the Earl of Ronaldshay G.C.I.E.F.R.G.S. will preside at the opening ceremony. We wish the Conference every success. We are proud to see that this new activity started by this Institute has received enthusiastic response all over India. We may suggest by the bye that the Third Oriental Conference may be held at Benares on behalf of the Hindu University.

* * * * *

The Institute has appointed the following gentlemen to be its delegates for the Calcutta Conference :—

1. V. P. Vaidya Esq. B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.
2. Dr. S. K. Belvalker, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Dr. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
4. N. B. Utgikar Esq., M.A.
5. Sardar K. C. Mehendale, B.A.
6. Principal V. G. Apte, B.A.
7. Prof. N. D. Minocher Homji, B.A.
8. Dr. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Prof. A. K. Shaikh, M.A.
10. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar.
11. Prof. K. V. Abhyankar, M.A.
12. Dr. V. G. Bhat, B.A., Ph.D.
13. Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L.M.S.

* * * * *

Prof. Sylvan Levi, the renowned Orientalist of France, has arrived in India, and is staying at Bolpur in the Sāntiniketana of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. We look forward to an opportunity for inviting him to pay a visit to the Institute and give us the benefit of his ripe scholarship and accurate judgment to enable us to carry on our literary activities with more vigour and vivacity.

[*15th December 1921*—ED.]

REPORT AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

POONA

FOR THE YEAR 1920-21

Personnel of different Departments of the Institute

as on the 1st of December, 1921

I. Manuscripts Department.

1. S. K. Belvalkar *(ex-officio Supdt.)*
2. R. P. Patwardhan
   K. C. Mehendale
4. N. D. Minocher Homji

Members.

II. Persian Mss. Department.

1. N. D. Minocher Homji *(Supdt.)*
2. K. C. Mehendale
3. S. K. Belvalkar

Members.

4. M. T. Patwardhan *(Co-opted member)*

III. Library Department.

1. R. P. Patwardhan *(Supdt.)*
2. S. G. Sathe
3. N. B. Utgikar
4. K. C. Mehendale

Members.

IV. Research Department.

1. K. C. Mehendale *(Chairman)*
2. S. K. Belvalkar
3. P. D. Gune
4. R. D. Karmarkar

Members.

V. Information Bureau.

1. S. G. Sathe *(Chairman)*
   and Heads of all departments as members.

VI. Journal Committee.

1. S. K. Belvalkar *(Chairman)*
2. R. D. Karmarkar
3. A. B. Gajendragadkar

Joint-editors.

4. N. D. Minocher Homji
5. K. V. Abhyankar

Members.

VII. General Department.

1. R. D. Karmarkar (*Supdt.*)
2. K. C. Mehendale (*Treasurer*)
3. S. K. Belvalkar (*Member*)
4. S. R. Bhagwat } *Co-opted members.*
5. V. R. Joshi }

VIII. Mahābhārata Department.

1. K. G. Joshi (*Chairman*)
2. N. B. Utgikar
3. S. K. Belvalkar
4. R. P. Patwardhan
5. R. D. Karmarkar

IX. Mahābhārata Editorial Committee.

1. Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh (*Chairman*)
2. V. K. Rajawade (*Vice-chairman*)
3. S. K. Belvalkar ... 4. P. D. Gune
5. R. Zimmermann ... 6. V. S. Sukthankar
7. C. V. Vaidya ... 8. K. C. Mehendale
9. R. D. Ranade ... 10. N. D. Minocher Homji
11. N. G. Sardesai ... 12. N. G. Damle
13. H. R. Divekar ... 14. P. K. Gode
15. K. G. Joshi ... 16. R. D. Karmarkar
17. A. B. Gajendragadkar ... 18. Vasudeoshastri Abhyankar
19. V. P. Vaidya ... 20. N. B. Utgikar (*Secretary*)
21. S. G. Sathe ... 22. R. P. Patwardhan
23. K. V. Abhyankar ... 24. Shridhar Shastri Pathak

X. Publication Department.

1. S. K. Belvalkar (*Chairman*)
2. K. V. Abhyankar ... 3. R. D. Karmarkar
4. K. C. Mehendale ... 5. P. D. Gune

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA CITY, 1920-21

From

V. K. RAJAWADE, Esq., M.A.,
Chairman, Executive Board,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

To

The Chairman,
Regulating Council,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the report of the Executive Board for 1920-21.

Nine ordinary and six adjourned meetings were held during the year when the following business was transacted :—

(1) I was appointed Chairman for the year and Committees were formed for managing the several departments. A new department was created for dealing with Persian, Arabic, Avesta and Pehlavi Literatures and thus an additional proof was afforded that the Institute's activity was many-sided and not confined to Sanskrit. Notwithstanding the fact that a considerable portion of the Manuscripts Library deals with Prakrit literature and that at the First Oriental Conference which was held under the auspices of this Institute papers were read on Persian and even on the vernaculars, a misunderstanding lingered in some quarters that provision was made for Sanskrit and Sanskrit alone, for which there will be no justification henceforward. A big hall is about to be constructed where will be housed Avesta and Pehlavi, Persian and Arabic Manuscripts and printed works. It has been all along the aim and aspiration of the organizers and managers to make the Institute truly representative and justify the name of 'Oriental,' for which two things will always be needed viz., scholars to organize new departures and money to

set them going. We shall hail the day when new departments come into existence for the encouragement of the study of, and research in, Hebrew, Chinese and Japanese. The Persian Department is due to the enthusiasm and organizing capacity of Prof. Minocher Homji of the Deccan College who has set his heart on rummaging for manuscripts in all parts of India for which he is ready to forego even his well-earned vacations. Another proof of his energy is his securing a grant of Rs. 25,000 from the Trustees of the late Sir Ratan Tata which will facilitate the construction of the hall referred to above.

A request has been made to Government that the annual grant of Rs. 3,000 made for the collection of Persian manuscripts be made over to the Institute, since a similar grant of Rs. 3,000 on account of the search and preservation of Sanskrit manuscripts has been already made over; so that all Persian manuscripts would be conveniently stored in one central place and supervised by one central body. Prof. Minocher Homji and the Secretary have also been deputed to wait on the Minister of Education and to discuss with him and the Director of Public Instruction the question of transference of the grant.

(2) Mr. N. B. Utgikar was relieved of his duties as Curator and his services were placed entirely at the disposal of the Mahābhārata Committee of which he is the Secretary. His salary was raised and graded in accordance with what he would get in due course in actual Government service and in view of the heavy responsibility that lies on his shoulders as editor of the Mahābhārata edition. He would rise from Rs. 250 to 500 by suitable gradations. The projected tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan, intended for calling in sound, scholarly and guiding criticism, will be published in the course of the next year and the lines of collating the whole work will be laid down after discussion of such criticism. The Government of Bombay have sanctioned a yearly maximum grant of Rs. 6,000, the University of Bombay 3,000, the Burma Government 500 and the University of Mysore have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 200 for each of the 10 volumes contemplated.

Favourable reply is expected from Madras and a deputation is going to wait on His Excellency the Diwan of Baroda. Considering the vastness and importance of the work, larger pecuniary contributions are indispensable for which an All-India tour must shortly be undertaken. The collating staff has been doubled but it shall have to be multiplied several times and perhaps located at different centres in order that there may be some nearer prospect of completion. The present staff is being liberally remunerated and steps have been suggested to keep them contented.

(3) Mr. Gode replaced Mr. Utgikar as Curator and Mr. Godbole was appointed permanent Head clerk. Their pay was suitably increased and life insured.

(4) Dr. Thomas, the well-known scholar and Librarian of the India Office Library, who has been touring India these several months to see libraries and places renowned for learning, visited the Institute on 30th November, when Mr. Utgikar read a paper on the Mahābhārata edition. The learned Doctor approved the lines of work and promised co-operation.

(5) A congratulatory gathering was held to do honour to two members of the Institute. The scholarly career of Vasudeoshastri Abhyankar has been worthily crowned with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. He has spent his whole life in teaching and a great teacher he is in the real sense of the word. Though Mr. Paranjpye's scholarship lies outside the province of the Institute, no one has appreciated the work that is being done within these walls better than him.

(6) The holidays of the staff and servants of the Institute were fixed.

(7) Rules for electing members of the Regulating Council and changes in other rules were recommended.

(8) Mr. N. V. Kelkar was appointed to prepare certain plans and estimates. He continued this work for some time but his services had to be dispensed with.

(9) The long-standing bill due to Mr. B. L. Modak was at last settled though not yet paid.

(10) There was only a single lecture throughout the year for which one main reason seems to be want of accommodation. The present space is simply crowded and has become stuffy. In addition to the two halls that will come into existence in about two years for which we must thank the Jain Community, Government and the Trustees of Sir Ratan Tata, we must have another one. Then and then alone we shall have sufficient elbow-room.

In the matter of publication the chief grievance is the printing press. Most printing presses have too much on their hands.

As the period for which the present Executive Board was elected would terminate on the 6th of July next, it would not be out of place to mention here the principal features of its activities during these years. The Board which began its work early in September 1918 has been carrying on the activities of the late Working Committee of the Institute.

(*a*) To begin with, the Government Manuscripts Library which was transferred to the Institute in September 1918 under the conditions laid down in Government Resolution in the Educational Department, No. 1631, dated 29th June 1918, has been carrying on its usual routine work of lending out manuscripts. The unfinished card catalogue is making a decent progress, but it will be some time before it can be said to have been completed. The Department has initiated the practice of securing on loan manuscripts from other Libraries for the benefit of our members. The proximity of the Manuscripts Library to the City has certainly added to its utility, as can be seen from the larger number of members and other visitors who frequent it. The early construction of a special Hall for the Manuscripts Library will have removed one great drawback under which the department at present labours.

(*b*) In the Publication Department, the details exhibited in the various appendices to this year's report will show how the Institute has done its best to fulfil the majority of the Government pledges, besides responding to calls for revisions and reprints of old volumes in the Bombay

Sanskrit Series. New works in the Oriental Series are contemplated, but if the output is not sufficient as some may desire, the obstacles are a dearth of printing-presses —and if it be must be owned—of ambitious scholars.

(*c*) The scheme of the Mahābhārata edition which was mooted by the Working Committee before the Board came into existence, has materialized. It was inaugurated in April 1919 by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and a paper was on that occasion, read by Mr. Utgikar on the great Epic, now published as a Prospectus to our Edition. The progress of the collation-work has been reported upon fully, in this year's report of the Mahābhārata Department. It has brought to light all sorts of problems that will require patient investigation. In order to get a synoptic view of the problems, and to put forth our own ideas before the world and invite more suggestions from without, it was decided to put forth a tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan, Mr. Utgikar being at work on it as its sole responsible editor. This edition is expected to be out in a year's time. *Pari passu* collation work with a view to the final edition of the whole epic is also proceeding. Money will be the great difficulty, but the appreciative public will come to our assistance with full hands, as the total expenditure cannot be less than five lacs of Rupees, while the promises received are of more than two lacs worth.

(*d*) Our *Annals* started early in 1919 is another feature. No Research Institute worth the name can exist long without an organ of its own. It has received recognition not only at the hands of Indian scholars but even at the hands of scholars in Europe and America. But for it so many Indian writers would have continued inactive and mute. There is one serious complaint about the Journal that its half-yearly appearance has been very irregular ever since its inception. This has been mostly owing to

causes unavoidable and it is hoped that this complaint would soon disappear.

(*e*) Next comes the newly-started Persian Department, which will show that the Board has been all along trying to widen the sphere of the usefulness of the Institute. Reference has already been made in paragraph first to the provision that is being made for the study of and research in Pehlavi, Avesta, Persian and Arabic.

(*f*) Another event that requires special mention in this connection is the First Oriental Conference held by the Institute in November 1919. The opportunities offered by the Oriental Congresses in Europe could not in the nature of things be adequately availed of by scholars in India. The advantages offered by such Congresses being held nearer home were warmly appreciated as vocalizing Indian learning and Indian research. The papers read at the Conference were varied in subject and a few of them did certainly reach a high watermark of scholarship. The Conference has come to stay, and is going to be held next year at Calcutta. The First volume of the Proceedings of this Conference is already published (giving the history, origin, the expenditure of this Conference, summaries of papers, etc.), and the second volume containing select papers *in extenso* is in press and will be out by the end of this year.

(*g*) The Library Department is unfortunately hampered by the two-fold want of space and funds. The former, however, would soon be removed. A part of the Library which Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has presented to the Institute has already been received at the Institute and the remaining part awaits removal, pending the provision of additional space. Such part of the Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Library as has been already with us has been proving to be of very great value. A catalogue of his Library is in progress. Our Library Department, however, cannot flourish unless large sums are made available to complete

and keep up-to-date all Research material. Some Governments and States have been generous enough to present sets of their learned publications, and the Journal also brings in exchange most of the current Oriental Periodicals from all parts of India, Europe and America.

(*h*) The Research Department has been making progress, though not quite up to our expectations. Earlier in the period advanced training classes in German and French were arranged for the benefit of our members. Some lectures have been arranged and papers read. It is hoped that the provision of more space would give an enhanced impetus to this line of work, and that in time Research Fellowships would be endowed for the furtherance of Post-Graduate Research work.

(*i*) The Information Bureau is also proving useful in its own way.

(*j*) Coming to domestic details, the Board has secured the wherewithals for constructing two large Halls, thanks to the liberality of the late Shet Khetsi Khiasi, the Government of Bombay and the executors of the will of the late Sir Ratan Tata. Construction-work, it is now confidently felt, could be commenced forthwith, and the cry of almost every department for more space would soon disappear. While speaking of construction, the necessity of a Guest House for the benefit of scholars coming from up-country, and a permanent decent provision for an adequate water-supply stand out prominently. The final handing over of the colony plots to the respective Colonists and executing the requisite legal documents now awaits the sanction of the Town-Planning Officers to the scheme as finally laid before them. The appointment of two Trustees of the Institute would facilitate the ulimate disposal of the colony question, engendered almost simultaneously with the inception of the Institute.

(*k*) A reference also ought to be made to our growing membership. On October 1918, our total membership stood

at 143. This number has gone on the 6th of April 1921 to 284. Arranged according to classes, they are :—

Honorary Member.	...	1
Patrons.	...	31
Vice-Patrons.	...	12
Benefactors.	...	10
Life-members.	...	163
Annual Members.	...	67
Total.	...	284

Our financial year closes with a balance of Rs. 58,309-13-4 This amount is not, however, a correct indication of the general finances of the Institute. The Government money for the Manuscripts and Publication Departments has to be kept aside for these two specific purposes, the remaining balance includes 25,000 recently received from the late Sir Ratan Tata's executors and 15,000 as part payment made by the late Shet Khetsi Khiasi. Some 3,000 (three thousand) Rupees are earmarked as belonging to the Persian, Avesta and Pehlavi Department and the rest only can be turned to the manifold purposes of the Institute. The Mahābhārata Department has no money whatsoever to fall back upon and lives from hand to mouth, and sometimes even on temporary loans. Rules have recently been passed by the General Body, creating the nucleus of a Reserve Fund to remain untouched, by reserving 25 per cent of all subscriptions except those of Annual Members. The current general expenditure including the Library is to be restricted to only 25 per cent of the total income and the subscriptions of the Annual Members. The remaining 50 per cent of the subscriptions are intended to form a floating fund for meeting special expenditures and for repayment of the debt and its interest.

The debt of the Institute now stands at Rs. 15,000 (Fifteen thousand) borrowed from Mr. R. N. Sardesai in the formative period of the Institute. The yearly interest on this sum is Rs. 900. This has been paid off to 31st March 1921.

[redacted]omised by the Jain Com-[redacted]y been received, thus relieving to [redacted]ne financial strain. The remaining sum of [redacted]ected to be collected and received ere long. Rupees [redacted]and are also due to be received from the heirs of the [redacted]Khetsi Khiasi.

Besides the landed and permanent property, the Institute owns the following paper securities.

	Name.	Nature of the security.	Sum.
1.	Mr. Kathavate ...	Govt. Pro. Note ...	100
2.	,, N. G. Sardesai ...	War-bonds ...	500
3.	,, Cowasji Dinshaw ...	Govt. Pro. Note ...	1000
4.	,, Rustomji Byramji.	Port Trust Loan ...	500

We have also received promises to have the following securities transferred as soon as the Trustees come into office :—

2,000—War-bonds from Chief of Inchalkaranji.

1,000—from Jehangir Bomanji Petit.

The balance as shewn on 31st March 1921 also includes Rs. 500 which the donor Mr. M.P. Contractor of Bombay desires to be converted in Bombay Development Loan and the interest of which only is to be utilized towards specific purposes. Thus the paper securities on hand come to Rs. 2,100 plus 500 in cash to be soon converted into paper, plus the *3,000* rupees papers promised by the two donors named above, that is in all Rs. 5,600. Interest for the year on most of the papers already in hand or promised is still to be secured. This branch of the finances would henceforward be efficiently administered by our Trustees.

There are two other Committees of the Institute with separate funds :—One, the Colony Committee and the other First Oriental Conference. The Secretary of the former is Mr. B. L. Modak, L.C.E.; of the latter, the Secretaries are Messrs. Gune, Karmarkar and Utgikar, and the Treasurer, Raosaheb K. G. Joshi. Most of the balance is held in the name of the last in the Imperial Bank, and a small sum including the sale proceeds of the 1st volume of the Proceedings of the Conference is on hand with one of the Secretaries, Mr. Gune.

The details with regard to the sale of the plots to the colonists of the working Committee published in the Bhandarkar Institute (Vol. I, Part I—Appendix) details will be found in the Minutes of a meeting of the Committee, dated 9th September 1916. The names and details of the amounts paid by the colonists will be found in the Minutes of the meetings of the colonists held at intervals, the first meeting being on January 6th 1918, and the Minutes of which will be found in a file entitled "Colony File" in the possession of the Institute.

In summary the history of these transactions is as follows :—

"Colonists and their Plots."

On the 11th of June 1916, an agreement was effected by the Ex-working Committee for the purchase of 10 acres of land for the Institute and the price of it (Rs. 6,000) paid down to Rao Bahadur S. V. Patwardhan, who held the land in mortgage. Thereafter it was felt that it would be an advantage to have round about the Institute a colony of workers and sympathisers in the Institute and with this view 28 or 29 people agreed to pay Rs. 400 for half an acre each and the Institute secured about 15 to 16 acres of land for their use; the Institute at the same time purchasing 4 more acres for itself. The land was partitioned of between the Institute and the Colonists; all the land above the main road being the Institute's property, the land to the East and South of the same being available for distribution amongst the colonists. At the time of effecting the purchase of the land on behalf of the colonists the Institute received from the would-be colonists amounts shown in column No. 3 of the accompanying statement.

The land available for the colonists was divided into suitable plots leaving space for development roads, storm-water drains etc. This meant a proportionate reduction in each plot so that the colonists agreed to receive approximately 17,000 sq. ft. for Rs. 400, plots larger or smaller than this area being charged for proportionately.

Column No. 3 shows the actual cost of the plot finally assigned to each colonist. The difference of column 3 with column 7 being adjustable by the colonists themselves, the Institute has nothing to do with this money as also with an amount of Rs. 110 (Column 4) which the colonists contributed for development roads, etc. The differences in some cases have been already adjusted for making the transaction clear and complete these details are shown in columns 8 and 9. The colonists have made independent arrangements for carrying out the proposed expenditure, etc., keeping their own accounts.

The work of actually handing over the plots to the colonists has been delayed owing in the first place to the roads and the approval of the whole plan by the Municipality and the Town-planning Committee. The General Body has already appointed on 11th January 1920 a special Colony Committee with a view to expedite the execution of the sale deeds. The plans were received as finally approved on 3rd June 1921, and the matter is now before the Special Colony Committee.

Conclusion.—Thus then the Institute stands and such are its needs. It would thus be generally felt that the future before the Institute can in no case be said to be dull or uninspiring. New Literary activities have been initiated and fostered as the response of the public and Government has hitherto been sympathetic and unfailing. Provision has been made for stabilizing the finances, and the Institute would call for and does reckon upon help where these are likely to fail. Scholarship has scarcely ever boasted to do without Government and public support. Those to whom honour was due have been honoured when the opportunities came. An invisible bond of comradeship has been established between the East and West, which will certainly result in a better understanding of each other.

The present Board feels that it would soon transmit with added lustre, a treasure inherited from its predecessors, which any body of persons may be proud to have and to nourish.

(Sd.). V.K. RAJWADE,
Chairman

REPORT OF THE REGULATING COUNCIL OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR 1920-21

I was appointed Chairman of the Council in the beginning of 1920-21 in place Dr. H. H. Mann, who went on leave and whose services were appropriately appreciated and recorded by the Council. I beg to submit on behalf of the Regulating Council as such Chairman, the annual report of the work transacted during the year. This report has been considered and approved at the meeting of the Regulating Council held on 20th May 1921.

The Council held three meetings during the year, one on the 11th of April 1920 and another on 10th June 1920 and the third on the 9th of January 1921. I am sorry, I could not take any part personally in these two meetings. The work before the Council during these two meetings consisted of the following :—(*a*) Consideration of the rules for election and of the Changes in the existing rules recommended by the Executive Board before submitting them to the General Body for approval; (*b*) passing the revised budget of 1919-20; (*c*) proving the budget for the year 1920-21; (*d*) Sanctioning two permanent posts in the Institute and approving the appointment of Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A. and Mr. N. R. Godbole to these posts; (*e*) Consider and approving the Scheme for the foundation of a Persian and Arabic Department and appointing a Committee to do its work, Of these five kinds of work the last is referred to at some length as one of the principal features of the work by the Executive Board. With regard to this work fears are entertained that a part of it may clash with the work of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay, and that the energies of the two Sister Institutes may be spent on one and the same line. But the Council believes that the fears are groundless as no clash is likely to arise between the two Sister Institutes. On the other hand the Persian Section bids fair to become of substantial use both in the pursuance of the studies concerned and in the interest of the Institute itself. All honour is due to the Executive Board for Creating an interest in this subject among the members of this Institute.

Another important feature of the work of the Executive Board is the progress in the monumental work of publishing a new Edition

of the Mahābhārata. The Board has done well in placing Mr. N. B. Utgikar at the head of the editing work.

The welcome extended to Dr. Tomas the well-known Oriental Scholar of England and the congratulatory gatherings in honour of the two well-known members of the Institute—one a great Scholar and another a great educationist are additional pleasant features reported by the Executive Board.

The Publication Department of the Institute is the one Department upon which the honour of the Institute will depend much. However great researches may be made by Scholars in their private studies, it is the publication of the researches that really adds to the stock of human knowledge. So, from this point of view, we welcome the issue of our *Annals*, which will serve as an important medium for Scholars to place their researches before the world of scholars.

The report of the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee gives us a good earnest of what may safely be expected from it in the matter of the great enterprise, which, if successfully carried out will bring honour to the name of the Institute for years to come. The spade work shows that an attempt is made to lay a sure and sound foundation for a monumental work, which will please both the ṛṣis of the old and the ṛṣis of the modern times. In all countries and in all ages the Sarasvatī has to look to the Śrī for help and encouragement and the Institute has from the fact of the help of money promised from different directions, every reason to be glad, that the golden age of help to learning has not departed for ever. Sir George Lloyd, our present Governor of Bombay came to us with the reputation of having true love for the Orient and his personal solicitude for the success of the work of the great Epic of India justifies our expectations from him.

We have to note nothing but satisfaction for the work of all the other Committees. My only regret is that living far away from its locale I am not in a position to take any active part personally in the work of the Institute, bearing the name of one for whose scholarship and for whose *gurushiр* India has every reason to be proud and whose life-work serves as it were as a guiding star to many a student like myself.

(Sd.) J. J. MODI,
Chairman, Regulating Council,
Bhandarkar O. R. Institute.

APPENDIX A

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

1st April 1920 *to* 31*st March* 1921

Receipts

		Rs.	A.	P.
Balance on 1st April 1920	...	18,487	14	8
Government MSS. Grant	...	3,000	0	0
Government Publication Grant	...	12,000	0	0
Pant Saheb's Mahābhārata Grant	...	2,000	0	0
Bombay University Mahābhārata Grant	...	3,000	0	0
Other donations to Mahābhārata Dept.	...	500	0	0
Sale Proceeds of the Institute's Publications	...	191	7	0
Library Donations	...	250	0	0
Subscriptions including :— Old promises, New members, Annual members, Jain Donation	...	17,792	2	0
Deposit from Mr. B. L. Modak	...	200	0	0
Donation from the Tatas for a hall for the Persian Section	...	25,000	0	0
Recovery of Loan to Staff	...	115	0	0
Recovery of Loan to Departments	...	3,423	10	4
Recovery of Advances to Persian department	...	2,047	10	0
Donations for the Persian MS. Department	...	4,753	0	0
Miscellaneous	...	429	8	7
(1) Contribution from Government to Curator's Pay ... 353 5 9				
(2) Recoveries ... 55 15 10				
(3) Colonists water rates 19 15 0				
(4) Fines ... 0 4 0				
TOTAL .. 429 8 7				
TOTAL	....	93,190	4	7

Expenditure

I.—Manuscripts Department—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ass. Curator's Pay ...	1,509	1	0
Clerk's Pay ...	99	4	0
Two Peon's Pay ...	366	4	0
Fire Extinguisher ...	46	0	0
Postage and Stationery ...	143	1	0
Preservation of MSS ...	40	12	0
Purchase of MSS and Books ...	345	12	0
Preparation of MSS. Catalogue ...	125	0	0
Jain MSS. Catalogue and Card Catalogue .	664	10	0
Miscellaneous ...	35	12	0
TOTAL ...	3,375	8	9

II. PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT—

Bombay Sanskrit Series ...	545	4	0
Government Oriental Hindu Series ...	1,756	2	0
Contribution to Curator's Pay ...	16	10	8
Insurances ...	306	14	0
Proof-reader's pay and other clerical charges ...	795	14	8
Postage & Stationery	181	5	6
Miscellaneous Printing and Advertising ...	259	8	0
TOTAL	3,861	10	10

III. LIBRARY DEPARTMENT—

Purchase of books & Subscriptions to Societies ...	1,167	11	10
Furniture ...	230	0	0
Binding ...	22	4	0
Postage & Stationery ...	44	5	0
TOTAL ...	1,464	4	10

IV. MAHĀBHĀRATA DEPARTMENT—				
Secretary's Pay, Leave and Pension Contribution and allowance	...	2,535	0	0
Clerk's Pay and allowance and Contribution to Curator's Pay	...	3,114	13	8
Peon's Pay	...	13	3	7
Transcription & Collation Charges	...	195	0	3
Collation Sheets	...	1178	0	0
Purchase of Books	...	1,105	10	11
Furniture	...	656	12	0
Paper for Printing	...	1,000	0	0
Binding and Printing Charges	...	128	2	0
Travelling expenses	...	81	10	0
Postage & Stationery	...	165	15	0
Functions & Miscellaneous	...	535	6	9
TOTAL	...	10,709	10	2
V. GENERAL DEPARTMENT—				
One Peon's Pay	...	180	0	0
Sanitation & Conservancy	...	103	8	6
Garden & Gardener	...	380	12	6
Water Charges	...	523	9	6
Furniture	...	172	0	0
Printing & Clerical Charges	...	115	2	8
Payment of Debt & Interest	...	3,437	8	0
Water Works	...	1,337	14	0
Two Halls	...	691	1	11
Repairs to buildings	...	205	6	9
Postage & Stationery	...	209	1	9
Functions	...	41	9	6
Rents & Taxes	...	30	0	0
Miscellaneous	...	233	13	3
Loan to Mahābhārata Dept.	...	3,423	10	4
TOTAL	...	11,075	2	8

16	K. G. Joshi	420	110	536	557	400	.....	21
17	P. D. Gune	471	110	581	581	400	nil	.....
18	V. Y. Chitale	367	110	477	477	400	nil	.....
19	V. K. Rajwade	367	110	477	477	400	nil	.....
20	K. K. Kale	398	110	508	508	400	nil	.....
21	V. G. Paranjape	368	110	478	478	400	nil	.....
22	S. V. Khadilkar	377	110	487	487	400	nil	.....
23	K. N. Dravid	389	110	499	510	400	.....	11
24	R. B. Raddi	405	110	515	515	400	nil	.....
25	S. K. Belvalkar	507	110	617	604	400	13	.....
26	R. D. Ranade	389	110	499	510	400	.....	11
27	R. D. Paradkar	434	110	544	510	400	34	.....
28	N. B. Utgikar	472	110	582	582	400	nil	.....
29	G. S. Khare	394	110	504	510	400	.....	6
30	Shop area (given to N. G. Sardesai)	115	nil	115	115	Nil	nil	.....
31	Water area (given to B.O.R. Institute)	151	nil	151	151	Nil	nil	.....
						Total...	113	57

N.B.—One more transaction with regard to the Colonists is that the Institute received Rs. 200 from Mr. B. L. Modak on the 8th of July 1920 as per Reso. *No. 1* of the Special Colony Committee passed on 4th July 1920.

REPORTS OF THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS

I

To

The Chairman,
Executive Board, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the report on the working of the Manuscripts Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for the period commencing with the 1st of April 1920 and ending with the 31st of March 1921.

2 *Personnel of the Department.*—The Department consists of the following members :—

(1) S. K. Belvalkar (*Ex-officio* Superintendent).
(2) R. D. Ranade
(3) R. D. Karmarkar.
(4) N. D. Minocher Homji.
(5) Muniraj Jinavijayaji (co-opted for work in connection with the Jain Manuscripts catalogue).

3. *Meetings of the Department.*—There were held five meetings of the Department during the year under report, which considered questions like the Annual Budget and its revision, the purchase of new Manuscripts, and the procuring of copies of rare and unique Manuscripts from Madras, the revision and completion of the press-copy of lists of manuscripts acquired during the last twenty years (numbering near 2,500 manuscripts), the thorough revision and completion of work on the card-catalogue by employing two extra hands for the purpose, the continuation of work on the descriptive catalogue of Jain manuscripts, the adoption of the Annual Report, and the opening of a section for Avestic, Persian and Arabic manuscripts. This last item, however, was taken by the Executive Board under its own jurisdiction and a separate department has been since opened for the purpose. The Annual inspection of the Manuscripts Library will be taken in hand in the month of April and its result communicated in time for inclusion in the printed Annual Report. As the Executive Board is to make every second year independent arrangements for the

examination of the Manuscripts Library, the Department suggests to the Board to take early steps in the matter, especially as the Board is nearing its final term of office.

4. *Financial Statement.*—This will be found in Appendix A. showing actual income and expenditure for 1920-21. The items listed are most of them normal, and need no comments. A Fire-extinguisher has been purchased this year for use at emergency.

5. *Loan and Return of Manuscripts.*—There were issued during the period under report 82 manuscripts to 19 scholars in India and 10 manuscripts to 2 scholars outside India. There were returned during the same period 74 manuscripts by 16 scholars in India and 21 manuscripts by 6 scholars out of India. There are on the 31st March, 1921, 63 manuscripts still out with scholars in India and 20 manuscripts with scholars out of India. The details about these are shown in six tabular statements * attached to this report. Dr. Mironov of Russia is the only European scholar, who is now in possession of manuscripts issued to him before the war. It is high time, now, to address him through the Secretary of State, for a return of the manuscripts, long outstanding with him. A separate letter in the matter has been recently addressed to the Director of Public Instruction.

A seventh * tabular statement shows manuscripts procured by this Department from other leading manuscripts libraries and loaned out under usual conditions to scholars applying for them. This privilege has been, however, restricted only to members of the Institute.

6. *Visitors to Library.*—Some 45 scholars visited the Library for purpose of occasional study and reference, for periods extending in some cases to more than a week. With the erection of a separate Hall for locating the manuscripts the inconvenience felt by visitors in having to work in an overcrowded place, will be done away with and the Library will, it is hoped, continue to attract more visitors.

7. *New Manuscripts acquired.*—In Appendix B * will be found a list of manuscripts acquired during the year under report, by

* Not printed.

purchase and transcription. The total cost on this head has been Rs. 295.

8. *List of acquisitions made during the last twenty years* :— The manuscripts acquired by the late Prof. Kathavate between the years 1895-99 (at Poona) and 1899-1901 (at Bombay), those acquired by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar between the years 1899-1901 (at Poona) and 1901-1915 (at Bombay), those acquired by Prof. Pathak between the years 1901-1907 (at Poona) and by Prof. Ghate between the years 1907-1915 at the same place, as also those acquired since 1915, when the Government grant was placed entirely at the disposal of the Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College, Poona, up to the date of the transfer of the Library to the custody of this Institute, all number in total about 2,500. A classified list of these has been prepared and is now with the Press (with an Appendix containing the manuscripts acquired by Bühler in 1866-68). The volume is expected to be out before long.

9. The card-catalogue in the state in which it was transferred to the Institute needed considerable revision and correction and addition. This has been systematically undertaken. Two extra hands are employed for the purpose. Their service has been found satisfactory and will have to be continued during the next year at least. By its very nature the work can proceed only slowly but I am not disappointed with the rate of progress maintained during the few months that Messrs. N. G. Joshi and S. N. Mungle have been at work upon it. The catalogue when completed would be a very great help to scholars visiting the library, and if printed (as originally planned) also to outside scholars.

(Sd.).S. K. BELVALKAR,
CHAIRMAN,
Manuscript Department.

II

To

The Chairman,
Executive Board, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the report on the working of the Publication Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for the period commencing from April 1st, 1920 and ending with March 31st, 1921.

2. *Personnel of the Department.*—The Department at present consists of :—

(1) S. K. Belvalkar (Chairman).
(2) P. D. Gune.
(3) R. D. Ranade.
(4) N. B. Utgikar.
(5) A. B. Gajendragadkar.

3. *Meetings of the Department.*—Seven meetings of the Department were held during the year under report, when besides sessions of normal routine such as, passing ordinary and revised budgets, issuing advertisements in the press for new works proposed to be taken up, the calling in and sanctioning of tenders from press, approving press copies, undertaking new works for the Oriental Hindu series as also of works in the Bombay Sanskrit Series referred to for revision; extending periods for the completion of press copies by certain editors, Annual reports, etc., there came up for discussion and settlement questions such as the relation of the Journal Committee to the Publication Department, the working of certain departmental rules and instructions to editors especially in regard to the use of 'avagraha' and inverted commas, the consideration of the Government proposal to stock the old volumes of the Bombay Sanskrit Series at the Institute, and the preparation of systematic printed forms for receiving tenders from Press and proposals from authors. A copy * of these last is attached to the report.

* Not printed.

4. *Financial statement.*—This will be found in Appendix A. Regarding the statement it is to be noted that a sum of Rs. 263-7-0 due to the heir of the late Mr. Islampurkar Shastri is still on hand, and the item regarding the travelling allowance of Prof. Gajendrgadkar has not yet been settled and paid up.

5. *Bombay Sanskrit Series.*—The present state of progress in regard to the sixteen old Government pledges transferred to the Institute for fulfilment is shown in Table A * from which it will be seen that of the sixteen works, four had been already completed and paid for; eight are in press and expected to be completed in the course of a year and a half, while copies of only four have not yet been received from the editors. These last have been written to and almost all of them have promised to submit copies within the course of the next year. If they do so, it may be confidently expected that all the sixteen Government pledges will be fulfilled within the probationary period of five years allowed by Government.

6. *The Bombay Sanskrit Series; works referred by Government for revision and reprint.*—Details about these are shown in Table B.* In the last year's Report six numbers of the series were referred to the Department for revision. This year four more have been similarly referred. Of the total number of ten works, two are already given to Press, six are taken up and are in course of active preparation, while in the case of two it has been decided to postpone consideration for the time, especially as the numbers referred to are odd parts of a complete work, the parts not so referred to being expected to run out of stock in the course of a few more months.

7. *The Oriental Hindu Series.*—From Table C * it will be seen that in addition to the five works already planned for and assigned by the Department in the year 1919-20, during the current year four new works have been undertaken for publication and definitely assigned. It is to be regretted that during the year under report no press-copy of any of the nine volumes undertaken, except

* Not printed.

that of Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha already in press, has been submitted. The Series is an altogether new venture and the Institute has been given considerable latitude in regard to it by Government. It is only if original and scholarly volumes are issued that the confidence placed in the Institute as regards this series would be justified. It is to be hoped that the Department will be in a position to render a better account of its activity in this matter in the next year's report, seeing that a number of new works were planned only during the last month of the official year.

8. Amongst *miscellaneous works* undertaken (details in Table * D) mention is to be made of the list of Government manuscripts acquired during the last twenty years which has been prepared by the Manuscript Department and is now in press. The R. G. Bhandarkar Library Catalogue is expected to be completed in the course of a few more months.

9. *The Annals of the Institute.*—During the period under report 2 issues (Volume I Part 2 and Volume II Part 1) were published for which the Department paid a sum of Rs. 1,650-10-0. Other details can be seen in the report of the Journal Committee.

10. *Total Out-turn.*—During the year under report copies of eight works were examined by the Department and passed for press. The Chairman of the Department had in addition to pass over 850 pages of printed matter for press. The technical details of the Departmental work, it has to be noted, have rather grown considerably during recent years and it will be inevitable before long to appoint permanently a competent Head Clerk and proof-reader exclusively for work in this Department, as the Chairman has to keep all-through the year often six to ten separate works printing at perhaps as many different presses.

11. *The sale proceeds* realized during the year under report are as under :—

Kāvyaprakāśa copies 12——Rs. 7-6-0

Annals copies 24——Rs. 120.

These have been handed over to the General Department of the Institute.

* Not printed.

12. *The Financial obligations incurred by the Department.*—A separate statement is prepared (Appendix IV) * which shows the distribution of the Government grant between Bombay Sanskrit Series publications and other publications of the Institute from which it will be seen that the proportion of 7 to 5 as proposed, has been maintained on the whole not only as regards actual expenses but also as regards future liabilities in regard to works planned and assigned. It is not certain when these new pledges will actually come for payment. Some may ripen in the course of a year or two, others may take more than 5 years, seeing that it is only when a work is actually published that expenditure on its account is incurred. Of the total liabilities undertaken those as regards reprints of old volumes in the Bombay Sanskrit Series amount to Rs. 23,100. These stand in a class by themselves and they probably are expected to come up much earlier for payment than most of those undertaken on account of the Oriental Hindu Series, seeing that these latter being original and critical works take much more time in their preparation. It is only with a steady and permanent and ever growing source of income that we can incur such large liabilities with advantage. It may be noted in this connection that one of the works undertaken this year is Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā with Index, a work of considerable importance in Jain Literature.

13. Towards the end of the year we have eleven works printing at seven different presses. In the names of presses engaged this year will be found one or two new names. The Department is experiencing considerable difficulty in finding competent and willing presses to properly execute the large amount of work it turns out each year. If not in the course of a year or two it can not in any case be very long therefore before the Institute thinks seriously of establishing an independent Printing Home of its own on a sufficiently large-scale. Once established, such a printing house will be self-supporting and will open very large possibilities for the literary activities of the Institute.

(Sd.). S. K. BELVALKAR,
CHAIRMAN,
Publication Department.

* Not printed.

III

To

The Chairman,

Executive Board, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the report for the working of the Department for the year 1920-21.

Personnel of the Department.—The Department at present consists of—

(1) R. D. Karmarkar (Chairman).
(2) P. D. Gune
(3) N. B. Utgikar
(4) N. D. Minocher-Homji
(5) V. G. Paranjpye (co-opted)

} Members.

The Department held only three meetings. There is nothing special to report. As usual the grant given by the General Department was mainly utilized for the purchase of books. Dr. Bhadkamkar's donation was not received during the year. It is hoped however that it will be received during the next year. The Bhandarkar Library catalogue is in preparation and the press copy would be shortly ready. Unless the new halls are completed and a good round sum is secured for the Library it is well-nigh impossible for the department to make itself felt in any appreciable manner.

(Sd.) R. D. KARMARKAR,
SUPERINTENDENT,
Library Department.

IV

To

The Chairman,
Executive Board, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the report of the General Department for 1920-1921. Statement of Accounts will be found in the Appendix A.

Seven meetings of the Department were held during the year under report and the following business was transacted :—

(1) Appointment of an overseer on Rs. 75/- p. m. for completing and revising the plans and estimates of the two side halls and supervising the building work.

The plans were submitted to Government for being passed and have now been received back with Government sanction.

(2) Giving work to the overseer from time to time, such as preparing estimates for Guest-house and Clerk's residence, repairs to the Curator's Bungalow, and culverts, lining out the two side halls, detailed drawings of the iron-work, testing the water tightness of the watertanks, etc.

(3) Preparing revised Budget for 1920-21.—The following business was done by circular :—

(1) Budget for 1921-22, (2) Report for 1920-21.

The present water arrangements are not satisfactory. It is hoped that they would be so by the provision made in the next year's budget for an Engine and Pipes.

(Sd.). P. D. GUNE,
SUPERINTENDENT,
General Department.

V

To

The Chairman,

Executive Board, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report of the Mahābhārata Department for 1920-21.

The personnel of the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee will be found under the heading "Personnel of various departments" printed elsewhere.

Thirteen meetings of the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee were held during the year under report, and the business transacted was both of an administrative and literary character. This latter aspect has been a new element added during the course of this year. And in pursuance of this, the Secretary Mr. Utgikar has read the following seven papers before this committee, one of them, viz., the 6th being read before a full meeting of the Institute held on the occasion of receiving at the Institute, Dr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office Library, on the 30th November 1920.

List of papers read.

1. "Principles of Textual criticism, as generally followed in the West." (Read on 8th August 1920).
2. "A paper on the Manuscripts of Mahābhārata, arranged according to libraries where they are deposited and the Scripts in which they are written;" (Read on 22nd August 1920).
3. "Considerations on some points of the Mahābhārata text criticism." (Presented on 22nd August 1920).
4. "A tentative text of the first six Adhyāyas of the Virāṭaparvan." (Read on 12th September 1920).
5. "A preliminary report on the investigation and present collation of the Virāṭaparvan, in the form of tables, showing verses and Adhyāyas discovered to be not existing in certain manuscripts of the same parvan." (Read on 14th October 1920).

6. The Javanese version of the Virāṭaparvan and some considerations regarding the authenticity and antiquity of a particular line of manuscripts tradition. (Read on 30th November 1920).

7. "Our present Mahābhārata work—a Prospect and a Retrospect." This paper also contains the results of a preliminary investigation and the present collation of manuscripts of the Sabhāparvan.

(Read before the Institute on 30th November 1920).

As completing this part of the work, reference may be made to another small paper contributed during the course of this year by Mr. Utgikar to the *Annals*, Volume 2, pages 73 to 78 of the Institute. The first of these papers is being published in the journal of the Fergusson College, while the major portion of papers 5 and 6 is included in the seventh on the list, which is being fully printed in the forthcoming issue of the *Annals*.

From an administrative point of view also, much work has been done. After the ground had been felt and made sure during the course of the first year of our existence, our next immediate step was to try to secure more funds and to establish and maintain a continuity of work. Our work in the former direction was necessarily addressed to local Governments and old and established Institutions like the Universities. And at the end of the year we are now in a position to say that the following definite grants have been secured for the Mahābhārata Department.

(1) The Government of Bombay have promised to pay us annually till the work is completed a grant equal to one-third of our total expenses, subject to a maximum of Rs. 6,000.

In this connection, the Department owes very much to the personal solicitude shown in the matter by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, and also to the kindness and sympathy shown by the Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Covernton, M.A., C.I.E., the Director of Public Instruction.

(2) The Burma Government have promised an annual grant of Rs. 500 for eight years from the next year. Our sincere thanks

are due to the Government of Sir Reginald Craddock for this timely donation.

(3) The University of Bombay have promised—on easy conditions—to grant a sum of Rupees three thousand annually for five years for the present. Coming from a great body as the University is, the Department has special pleasure in acknowledging this handsome donation.

(4) The University of Mysore have sanctioned as a grant-in-aid a sum of Rs. 200 for each of the ten volumes contemplated and have also sanctioned the purchase of a large number of copies when ready.

(5) Similarly the Government of Bihar have also sanctioned the purchase of a specific number of copies when ready.

We have also secured during this year a special donation of Rs. 500 from Shet Harilal Jagannath of Cambay, thanks to the good offices of Rao Bahadur Namjoshi, the Administrator of that State, and of Prof. N. D. Minocher-Homji.

This is by no means a discouraging response to the appeal issued by us for help from the bodies concerned. We are hopeful that an equally encouraging response would be received from the Government of Madras, more especially as His Excellency Lord Willingdon is the President of the Institute, and personally knows our work and our aspirations.

An equally sustained effort to secure funds, still necessary for the preparatory work on the edition itself and much more so for printing the edition, will also have to be made during the course of the next year, and has in fact already begun, and we shall not be placing our hopes too high, if we say that the next year would be financially, as successful as, if indeed not more so than the one now closed.

Other work done by the Department may also be usefully mentioned here. In July last, the Editorial Committee approved of a suggestion for issuing an advance or tentative edition of a small parvan of the Mahābhārata, with the object of acquainting scholars with the special features of our final edition, and of inviting discussion and criticism thereon, which will be useful for laying

down the lines of work for the final edition of the Epic. This work has been entrusted to Mr. Utgikar, as the sole responsible editor of this tentative work and the Parvan selected is the Virāṭa-parvan, and he hopes to put the copy in the printer's hands before long. The work had to be delayed to secure the necessary manuscripts material from Trivandrum and Madras. Indeed transcripts of a part of two Malayalam Manuscripts in the Palace Library at Trivandrum, happened to reach the Secretary's hands just towards the end of the year. As the edition itself is meant to be provisional and to invite suggestions and useful advice, much need not be said about it except that it will be based, in addition to the existing editions of the North and South, on eleven Nāgarī, one Bengali, two Malayalam, one Grantha and one Telugu Manuscript of the Parvan: and that the evidence of the older commentaries and of the Javanese translation of the Virāṭaparvan (executed in cir. 1,000 A.D.) will be fully utilised. The edition will give underneath the tentative text, a digest of the varie lections, and will contain discussions of these in the Notes, which will be critical as well as exegetic. The tentative edition will also include some illustrations for general discussion and approval.

The Staff.—During the year the staff has been more than doubled. It now consists of 2 Graduates and 2 under-graduates and 6 Shastris. One of these has trained himself to read the old Śāradā characters, one the Southern alphabets beginning with Telugu and two know Bengali well. In order that the members of the staff may not have any necessity of casting their eyes elsewhere for service or for more attractive remuneration, the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee have proposed to the Executive Board a definite system of grades and graded pay and also of a Provident Fund arrangement. If the two proposals are accepted, the details will have to be settled early during the course of the new year.

The Institute has also revised its terms of agreement with Mr. Utgikar, whose pay with effect from 1st January 1921 is fixed at Rs. 250—20—500 exclusive of pension and leave contributions. The following collation work has been done during this year:—

The whole of the Virāṭaparvan has been collated from eleven Devanāgarī and one Bengali Manuscripts. In connection with the tentative edition of this parvan, collations of two Southern

Manuscripts are recently being secured. The following Adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan have been collated from five manuscripts :—

Adhys.	1—94	Total No. of verses	3691
,,	101—122	,,	649
,,	141—184	,,	1200

To sum up, therefore, we have secured during these two years the complete collation of about ten thousand and two hundred versus of the epic from thirty independent manuscripts of the Nāgarī and Devanāgarī recension.

The Committee will have, during the next year, after due consideration of the judgment passed by the competent European and Indian scholars on the tentative edition above referred to, to tackle the question of fixing many of the broader details to be followed with regard to the final edition. Those who have followed the collation work of the Ādiparvan are full of hope that many interesting and important questions would come to the surface, and the materials for a critical edition of the Ādiparvan are more varied, more interesting and more important than in the case of some other parvans.

Miscellaneous.—Dr. F. W. Thomas' visit has already been alluded to. It is to be sincerely wished that his personal knowledge of our work and methods and our position in general may go a long way towards bringing about a co-operation between our project and the European project for the same.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) BHAVANRAO PANDIT PRATINIDHI,
Chairman, M.E. Committee.

VI

To

The Chairman,
Executive Board,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I beg to submit a brief report about the working of the Persian section of the Manuscript Department.

I may at the outset mention that ever since the inception of the Institute, there was an idea in the minds of the originators of the Institute to provide for all Oriental languages, though I must say that at the commencement of its life, its activities were more or less confined to Sanskrit. After my nomination as a member of the Regulating Council by Government, I was taken up on the Executive Board, and I found that the idea of doing something tangible for the other Oriental languages such as Persian, Arabic, Avesta and Pehlavi, which had been more or less latent till then, was shared by all my colleagues on the Executive Board, and they encouraged me to take steps towards the materialisation of this object, and I set to work in this direction about July 1920. The first and perhaps the most difficult task was to secure public sympathy and contributions for the object, and thanks to the generosity and public spirit of the Parsi gentlemen I approached in my mission, I was able to realise Rs. 4,753 earmarked for purchase and search of Manuscripts, besides promises. Here, I cannot but refer to the very munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 of the Trustees of the late Sir Ratan Tata for building a hall to be called Sir Ratan Tata Persian Hall for the location of the Manuscripts of the Section. This magnificent contribution has indeed come at the most opportune time and solves one of the greatest difficulties of this section, and has given permanency to it.

The next step towards this object in view was the actual work of search and collection of Manuscripts. This was started by a resolution of the Manuscripts Department and later of the Executive Board, authorizing me to visit likely places in search of

Manuscripts and to purchase them. I immediately availed myself of the short October and Christmas vacations, and visited Cambay, Surat, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Navasari, Broach, and Ahmednagar, and was able to secure Manuscripts worth Rs. 2,121/8 including the Manuscripts purchased through a local agent. In the same connection, I cannot but mention that several generous donors gave presents of valuable Manuscripts, details of which are already before the Board, published in the *Annals* (Vol. II, part ii) and I need not recapitulate them again.

The total number of Manuscripts thus secured is :—

Persian	...	...	133
Arabic	...	...	26
Avesta and Pehlavi	...	...	16
		Total	... 175

Several old and valuable lithographs and prints were also purchased for the Persian Library, 18 in all.

In my trips I have also been able to examine several private libraries and have made lists of valuable Manuscripts thus paving the way for further finds which are also likely to be secured through the help of the sympathisers and workers I have been able to enlist in this cause at the various places I visited.

I must also refer here to the fact that we have recently applied to Government to place at the disposal of our Institute the yearly Rs. 3,000 which Government have already been spending ar purpose, and we trust that Government will not hesitend their help in this cause by granting our request, es- s we have already achieved so much in this direction.

I conclude this brief resumé of the work done by mention of the *immediate* needs of the Department. Separate for the safe custody of the Manuscripts are necessary. esirable to employ a competent hand, next year, to prepare card-catalogue and to look after the Manuscripts.

(Sd.). N. D. MINOCHER-HOMJI,
SUPERINTENDENT,
Persian Manuscripts Department.

VII

To

The Chairman,
Executive Board,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the report of the Research Department for 1920-21.

The principal business of this department consists in organizing lectures. In the course of the year only one lecture was delivered when Principal Rawlison of the Karnatak College was in the chair. Principal Turnbull elucidated the Homeric Problem in a clear learned paper after which there was a short discussion about the similaries and dis-similaries between the Iliad and Odyssey and the Mahābharāta.

In the present state of accommodation lectures are rather a disturbance and a discomfort. We must forego them for some time.

(Sd.) V K. RAJAWADE,
SUPERINTENDENT,
Research Department.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
Acc. No.....
Book No.....
LIBRARY.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE

1921—22

JANUARY 1922

THE AGE OF PERUNDĒVANĀR, THE AUTHOR OF THE TAMIL BHĀRATAM

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

...ēvanār is a well known name in Tamil literature but it is ...out considerable obscurity in respect of the person for whom ... provides a very good illustration of the danger ...e way of identifications from the mere sameness of ... The fact that so early as the age of the Śangam ...or differentiation came to be felt, and among a number ..., one name Perundēvan got singled out as the man, who ... Tamil verse *Bhāratam* (Bhārat-am-pāḍiya-Perundēvanār) ... certain indication that there were already a number that went by the name. This Perundēvanār's name occurs in the so-called larger Sinnamanūr plates, and that has been fastened on to equate this Perundēvanār, the poet of the *Bhāratam*, with the author of the *Bhāratavenbā*. A whole system of chronology was based upon it, which on examination collapses like a house of cards. It would be worth while therefore examining how many Perundēvanārs we happen to know in Tamil literature and who this Perundēvanār is, whose name figures in the Pāṇḍyan Copper Plates found at Sinnamanūr.

Perundēvanār is a name which occurs prominently in Tamil literature in four connections. There is one Perundēvan who is described without any further attribute and of him we have no more than two poems, poem 83 of Naṟṟiṇai and poem 51 of Aḥānānūṟu. There is very little known of him besides the authorship of these two poems.

Another Perundēvanār is referred to as one who wrote the poetical *Bhāratam* in Tamil, and a Bhāratam-pāḍiya-Perundēvanār is credited with the poems in invocation of the eight collections that go under the name *Śangam* collections in orthodox Tamil parlance. According to the late Pandit Narayanaswami Aiyar of Kumbhakonam, the few stanzas from this *Bhāratam* that are found quoted as illustrations in various works are in the metre of his other poems found in the *Śangam* collection. Of his work *Bhāratam*, these few stanzas alone are all that we have access to at the present time. If ever we should come upon the whole work, it will certainly settle at least one problem in the chronology of Tamil literature. The invocation in the various classics already referred to, have reference to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Subrahmaṇya or Skanda etc., so that this poet does not appear to have been particularly sectarian in his views.

The third celebrity of this name is the author of what is now generally known as the *Bhāratavenbā* which makes a direct reference to a patron This is the Pallava King Nandivarman victor at Tellāṟu, to distinguish him from other Pallava kings of the same name. It is these two that have been equated without warrant to make the existing confusion of literary chronology worse confounded.

Another celebrity of the same name is a commentator and a disciple of Buddha-Mitra, the author of the *Vīra Śōḻiyam*, a grammar of the eleventh century A.D. According to the colophon of this work, Buddha-Mitra was the governor of Ponparṟi under the Cola King Vīra Rājendra A. D. 1063-1070 to which his own disciple Perundēvan wrote the commentary. There are other

Perundēvans such as Kaḍuhu Perundēvan, Kavisāgara Perundēvan, etc. But of them we know next to nothing to our great comfort in this connection. In regard to the last name, various lines of evidence, internal to the work and historical, leave no doubt as to his identity and to the period in which he flourished. The third one seems also to allot himself to a particular time early in the 9th century A. D., possibly in the last years of the previous century, as Nandivarman of Telḷāṛu was in all probability the grandson of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Telḷāṛu being a place some miles south of Tindivanam. The main question in this particular connection is whether this Perundēvan, the contempoarary of Nandi of Telḷāṛu and the author of the *Bhāratavenbā* is the Perundēvan, the poet of the *Bhāratam*, who composed the various poems in invocation, which are included in the collections that have come down to us of the *Śangam* classics. In order to settle this question, it will not do to put the cart before the horse, as has been done too often with considerable show of authority. Here are two distinct entities which have to be equated, and one would expect some kind of lead before one takes the responsibility of proposing the identity. There are some considerations which have to be weighed before even the possibility of this identification is suggested. Who is this Perundēvan? And why is it that he makes the poems in invocation? Poems in invocation are made usually at the time the collection is made, unless a commentary gets to be written and perhaps then the commentator makes it. In this case the occurrence of a stanza ascribed to him in the compilation known as the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*, puts him, according to orthodox Tamil opinion, on the same footing as the authors of the *Śangam* classics whose names also figure there. That gives us the ulterior limit of his age, as the age when the Kural received the *Śangam Imprimatur* under one Ugra Pāṇḍyan according to tradition. The Ainguṛunūṛu collection was made by one Kūḍalūr Kiḷār for his patron, the Cera, who is distinguished as the Cera 'of the elephant look" (Yānaik-kaṭ-cēy-Mārdaraṁ-Śēral Irumporai). It is this poet

that mourned the death of this Cera in poem 229 of the Puṟanānūṟu collection. So then it is clear, this collection was made in the reign of the Cera "of the elephant look." We have shown elsewhere (vide 'Beginnings of South Indian History,' Chp. VI) that the contemporary Pāṇḍya of this prince was the Pāṇḍyan, victor at Talaiyālangāṇam. So far then at least as the one collection Aiṅguṟunūṟu is concerned, it is clear that the collection was made at the time when the Cera "of the elephant look" and the Pāṇḍyan, "Victor at Talaiyālangāṇam" lived. Another important collection, which, according to the Colophon of the work (as yet unpublished) says that the collection was made for a Pāṇḍya king by name Ugra Pāṇḍyan by a Brahman Rudraśarman, son of Uppūrikuḍi-Kiḻān, resident of Madura. There is a tradition connecting this Rudraśarman with the commentary on the Iraiyanār Ahapporuḷ of Narkīrar. The story is briefly as follows: a number of commentators set to work to comment upon this abbreviated grammar and someone was wanted, who could express an authoritative opinion as to which of the commentareis has the approval of authorised usage. In the absence of anybody else, this Rudraśarman a dumb child of five, was indicated by no less an authority than God Śiva himself the supposed author of the work. The story goes on to say that it was only two commentaries that stood this test. The commentary by Marudan Iḷanāgan received occasional approval, while that by Narkīrar received unqualified approval throughout. Thus then the tradition connects this Rudraśarman as a young contemporary of Narkīrar and Iḷanāgan both of them, contemporaries of the Pāṇḍyan of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam, whom they celebrated in a number of poems ascribed to them, and forming part of Puṟanānūṟu, Ahanānūṟu and works of that connection. So this tradition takes us back to the collection of the Ahanānūṟu either to the reign of the Pāṇḍyan at Talaiyālangānam himself, or to a successor immediately following him, whom we shall have to call, according to this, Ugra Pāṇḍyan in whose time the Ahanānūṟu collection was made.

According to the traditional account of the *Śangam* as embodied in the Iraiyanar *Ahapporuḷ* and by the commentator of the *Śilappadikāram*, those monarchs, who took active part in the third *Śangam* were the line of rulers beginning with Muḍattirumāṛan, who lived at the time of the floods to Ugrap-Peruvaluḍi (the great Pāṇḍya Ugra). We have on a former occasion (vide the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature in Ancient India) indicated that this Ugra Pāṇḍyan must be the same as the Pāṇḍyan, victor-over the Āryan army, whose name figures in the *Śilappadikāram* for the reason that, as both the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkhalai* quote from the *Kural* even with acknowledgment, the Ugra Pāṇḍyan before whom the *Kural* received the Śangam imprimatur must be one at least slightly anterior to them. The other reasons I have given in some fullness in my '*Augustan Age of Tamil Literature*.' This seems to find some confirmation from the fact that Narkīrar's commentary on the *Iraiyanār, Ahapporuḷ* as it is handed down to us, contains a number of quotations from the *Kural*. We shall probe this question further before we either give up this identification or postulate a second Ugra Pāṇḍyan. That Ugra Pāṇḍyan, the contemporary of Rudraśarman in whose court the Ahanānūṛu collection was made, was slightly posterior to the Pāṇḍyan of Taliyālangānam is the point that we are making out just now. It is this battle of Taliyālangānam, the translation of the *Mahābhāratam* and the establishing of the *Śangam* that are brought into connection in the Sinnamanūr plates. This connection has led to the inferences referred to at the very beginning of this essay. The late Mr. Venkayya in his report for 1907 says ' a few of the facts mentioned in the Tamil portion of the Sinnamanūr plates are of very great importance to the student of Tamil literature, namely the victory at Talaiyālangānam, the translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Tamil and the establishment of the college of poets at Madura. Though mentioned along with events of a more less mythical character, these three facts must be historical and have to be treated as such. According to Tamil literature the victory at Talaiyālangānam was achieved by

a Pāṇḍya king named Neḍunjeliyan against two kings and five tributary chiefs. This victory was considered such an important event of his reign that the attribute "who gained the battle at Talaiyālangānam" became attached to his name in later times. It is perhaps an accident that these three facts are mentioned together and at the end of the long list of achievements of Pāṇḍya kings. We have no reason to suppose that the events are mentionod in chronological order or that the three last took place in one and the same reign. There is a tradition that Perundēvanār, who composed the Tamil *Bhārataveṇbā* was one of the poets of the last Madura College (Kaḍaichchangam in Tamil). If there is any truth in this tradition, the reference to the Tamil translation of the *Mahābhārata* made in the larger Sinnamanūr plates may be his work. *But Perundēvanār refers as his patron to a Pallava King, who defeated his enemies at* Telḷāru (Annual Report for 1898-99, Paragraph 16). If this Pallava king is identical with the Nandippōttaraiyar "who defeated his enemies at Telḷāru" and whose inscriptions have been found in the Tamil country, Perundēvanār must belong to the second half of the 8th century. And if it is to this translation of the *Mahābhārata*, contained in the *Bhāratāveṇbā* that the Sinnamanūr plates refer, there is no apparent reason why the achievement is assigned to Pāṇḍya kings who had passed away before the first historical person mentioned in the genealogy. It is just possible that the events took place during the reign of some king or kings, whose names the composer of the inscription deliberately wished to avoid mentioning. In support of this conjecture we have no evidence at all at prestent and it must therefore be supposed, at least provisionally, *that the Tamil translation of the Mahābhārata here referred to is earlier than Perundēvanār's version.* The foundation of the Tamil Śangam at Madura is the last of the three achievements and refers probably to what is known in Tamil literature as the third Śangam (Kaḍaich changam). If the date assigned in the sequel for Arikēsarin Māravarman is correct,

the last Madura College must have come into existence prior to the middle of the 8th century A. D."

Neither in this report nor in the one for the following year he submitted to the Government did Mr. Venkayya pursue the matter further to its legitimate conclusion, as to when exactly and where we are entitled to look for the Pāṇḍya who did these glorious things. We examined the whole question in some detail in the "*Beginnings of South Indian History*" in Chapter VI, section 2 and 3, and have found that for the Pāṇḍya who instituted the Śangam, we have to go back very early, as indeed the inscriptional reference does actually give us a hint in this direction. The expression used there is that these events took place in the remote past, which indeed would actually warrant more than the inference that the *Śangam* must have taken place before the 8th century. The *Śangam* as such finds reference in Sundaramūrti Nāyanār's *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* in connection with Kulachirai. Tirumangai Āḻvār has a couple of references where he speaks of his own poem as composed in the Tamil of the *Sangam*. The more modern stanzas in the *Iraiyanār Ahapporul* do contain in stanza 167 a reference to the Ṣangam, not as such but in other words. So that the inference is that it was much anterior to the writer of these stanzas. We get for that modern author who edited the *Iraiyanār Ahapporul* and published it in its present form, an age ten generations on this side of the *Talaiyālangānattu* Pāṇḍyan, but earlier than those referred to in the Sinnamanūr plates as we have shown good reason for thinking so. Then we shall have to give a little more than 300 years from the earliest Pāṇḍyan that figures in these copper plates for the age of the *Talaiyālangānattu* Pāṇḍyan. Therefore the reference that joins in one statement the victory at Talaiyālangānam, the translation of the *Mahābhāratam*, and the establishment of the Śangam must be taken as having relation to a particular Pāṇḍyan, and that it seems to us undoubtedly to be a reference to the Pāṇḍyan of Talaiyālangānam, the contemporary and friend of Narkīrar. This would agree very well with

what we have already said of the collection of some of the *Śangam* works, particularly the Ahanānūru and Aiṅguṛunūṛu for which Perundēvanār made the poems in invocation. Therefore then Perundēvanār of the *Ehāratam* has to be referred to an age which may be slightly later, but which may appropriately be called the age of the Pāṇḍyan, victor at Talaiyālaṅgānam. This Perundēvanār and the author of the *Bhāratavenbā* were separted from each other by an interval of time which may roughly be put down at about 4 centuries, and therefore the two cannot be indentifed with each other and must be regarded as two distinct entities in Tamil literature.

This conclusion is at variance with those of others who regard the Gajabahu synchronism discredited, and would pin their faith to the so-called astronomical argument. This last in various forms turns round upon two points; (i) the names of the week-days beginning with Sunday is given a Christian origin, and the introduction of the week must have been later than Constantine's edict; (ii) the names of the signs of the Zodiac are given in certain astronomical, or astrological works, in their Greek names. In regard to these two points, I need say no more in this connection, than to point out that neither of these positions has been proved. No direct evidence of borrowing has been offered in regard to the first, nor that it had an astronomical origin at all. In regard to the second the fact that Varāha Mihira lays himself out to give the Greek names separately while all through the work he uses the Indianised names is clear proof that he did not regard the Indian names as borrowed. Other details of scientific astronomy are irrelevant to the point at issue. It is hardly necessary that if there is borrowing it should be in whole and not in parts. The following remarks of Professor Vogel seem to the point:

"We find the Zodiac signs indicated by names either corresponding to the Greek, or by actual Greek apellations in Sanscritised form. Thus we have *Kriya* from Greek Krios (Aries), Tavuri (Tauros), Jituma from Diduma (Gemini) and so on. The names

of the Planets shew the same peculiarity, Heli from Greek Helios (the Sun), Himna from Greek Hermes (Mercury); Ara from Greek Ares (Mars). I may note that the alternative Indian appellations which correspond to the Greek only in form were probably not borrowed from Greece, but had a common Babylonian origin. This explains why the days of the week in India as well as in Europe are named after the Sun, the Moon and the five planets."

(Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Greek influence on Ancient Indian Civilisation, East and West for January 1912; p. 40).

THE DVAITANIRṆAYA

P. V. KANE

The *Dvaitanirṇaya* or *Dharma-dvaitanirṇaya* is a work composed by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. The author was a very erudite Mīmāṁsaka and belonged to a very learned family of Benares Pandits. His father Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was a very pious and learned man. It is related that, when the Mussulmans razed the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares to the ground, no rain fell for a long time and that, being afraid of the severe drought, the Mussulmans implored Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa to propitiate Viśveśvara and agreed to re-build the temple of the god even if a little rain moistened their withering crops. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa propitiated Viśveśvara and then it rained copiously. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was given the title of Jagadguru and was declared to be entitled to precedence over all Brahmanas at *Mantrajāgaras*. The latter distinction still continues in the family. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is the author of the Prayogaratna, the Tristhalīsetu and several other important works. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was the father of Nīlakaṇṭha, the famous author of the Vyavahāramayūkha and other Mayūkhas. In all his works, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes with the greatest respect his father's views. For a thorough understanding of several passages in the Vyavahāramayūkha and the other works of Nīlakaṇṭha, a study of the Dvaitanirṇaya is quite indispensable. In the following lines is given a brief account of the Dvaitanirṇaya taken from a MS. in the Deccan College Collection (No. 109 of 1895-1902.)

In the beginning there are eight introductory verses that are rather mutilated. They can be almost restored with the help of some passages that occur in the body of the work itself and by conjectural filling up of gaps. The first three are in the nature of benedictory stanzas. The author offers his salutations to Gaṇeśa, Rāma and the Sun. Then he refers to his father

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa as ford of Mīmāñsa and as equally favoured by Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī. In the fifth verse he refers to himself as 'मीमांसाद्वैतसाम्राज्यनीतिज्ञः'. In the 6th and 7th verses he declares that he carefully studied Medhātithi, Aparārka, Smṛtyarthasāra, Kālādarśa, Candrikā (*i.e.* Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa), Hemādri, Mādhava, Nṛsiṁha and the Tristhalīsetu of his father[1]. In the last verse he says that he will abide by the views of Southern writers[2].

The object of the work is to consider the doubts that arise on matters of ceremonial usages and rites to be performed on various days in the year and on matters of impurity on births and deaths and to give decisive opinions one way or the other. This may be illustrated by taking a few examples The first topic treated of in the work is that of *Navarātra*. It may so happen that the first *tithi* of Āśvina begins on a certain day after a few *ghaṭīs* of the *Amāvāsyā* of Bhādrapada and ends the next day a few *ghaṭīs* after sun-rise. The *Navarātravrata* is to be begun on the *Pratipad*. Therefore a doubt arises whether it is to be begun on that day on which *Pratipad* is conjoined with Amāvāsyā or on that day when it is joined to the second tithi of *Āśvina*. The Nṛsimhaprasāda and the Durgāvatīprakāśa are in favour of the first view and the Pareśurāmaprasāda is in favour of the latter. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa establishes after a great deal of acute reasoning and application of the rules of Mīmāñsā that the latter is the proper view to hold. To take another instance; the question arises whether in the Proṣṭhapadī (Bhādrapada) Śrāddha, the maternal grand-father is to be included along with paternal ancestors or not. The Kālādarśa favours inclusion, while other writers are opposed to that view. The author decides that the maternal ancestors are not to be included. Another interesting

[1] These verses are मेधातिथेश्च परार्कविज्ञभिश्रयोमिश्र! (विज्ञानेश्वरयोगिनोः!) स्मृत्यर्थसारकर्तुश्च कालादर्शकृतस्तथा ॥ चन्द्रिकाकार-हेमाद्रीर्मा····· नृसिंहयोः (माधवार्यमु०)। गुरोश्च त्रिस्थलीसेतुः (तौः) कर्तुर्व्रात्य मतानि वै ॥

[2] दक्षिणात्यमते स्थित्वा धर्मद्वैतेषु निर्णयम् ।
तनुतेऽसौ विगाह्यैव नावमान्यः कथंचन ॥

topic may be cited here as an example. The Smṛtis lay down that what is promised to one by way of a gift should not be given to another. Supposing that this injunction is disobeyed, then the question arises whether (1) only the giver incurs sin, but ownership in the thing given does arise with respect to the recipient, or whether (2) the giver incurs no sin, but ownership does not pass, or whether (3) the giver incurs sin and ownership also does not pass to the donee. The *Siddhānta* view established by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa is the last. Among the other topics for discussion are the following:—पञ्चमीद्वैतनिर्णय (whether परविद्धा or पूर्वविद्धा), कृष्णजन्माष्टमीव्रतनिर्णय, एकादशीवेध, चतुर्दशीद्वैतनिर्णय, शिवरात्रिव्रत०, सावित्रीव्रत०, उपाकर्मनिर्णय, होलकानिर्णय (फाल्गुनीपौर्णिमा त्रिविधा परविद्धा वा ग्राह्या), ग्रहणद्वैतनिर्णय, संनिपाताशौचनिर्णय[1] (numerous doubts in connection with impurities on births and deaths are here dealt with). सपिण्डीकरणकालनिर्णय, पिण्डदानाधिकारिनिर्णय, सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

In all these discussions the authors most frequently quoted are Hemādri and Mādhava. On some matters he agrees with Hemādri and refutes Mādhava, while on others he approves of Mādhava's views and discards those of Hemādri. For example, he follows Hemādri in सावित्रीव्रतपौर्णमासीविप्रतिपत्ति in preference to Mādhava, while he prefers Mādhava to Hemādri in शिवरात्रिव्रतनिर्णय, पञ्चमीद्वैतनिर्णय, पौर्णमासीरूपपर्वगतग्रहणद्वैतनिर्णय. He refers to the views of Vijñāneśvara with great respect, though much less frequently than those of Hemādri or Mādhava. He speaks of Vijñāneśvara as the foremost among the writers of *Nibandhas*.[2] But in a few places he finds fault with him also.[3] At the beginning and end of many of the topics selected for discussion he gives a verse or two eulogising himself and his efforts in arriving at the truth in the thin of controversy.

1 'त्रिरात्रशावमध्ये दशाहसूत्याशौचपाते किं शेषेण शुद्धिर्न वेति तथा दशाहसूत्याशौचनक्षमाहोरात्रे त्र्यहशावाशौचपाते किं पूर्वेण शुद्धिर्न वेति.'

2 'सर्वनिबन्धकृद्धरिष्ठेन विज्ञानेश्वरयोगिना'

3 *e. g.* हेमाद्रिस्तु अग्न्याधानपक्षे दक्षिणाग्नावेव अग्नौकरणहोमं मिताक्षराकारमतं दूषयित्वा सिद्धान्तितवान्। तत्र हेमाद्रिमतमेव सम्यग्न विज्ञानेश्वरमतमिति नः प्रतिभाति।

The Dvaitanirṇaya was a very useful work in former times as it authoritatively dispelled doubts about religious rites and observances that were very dear to the heart of the people. In these days when the old order of things is under-going a marvellous change and an entirely new mental attitude is being evolved, the Dvaitanirṇaya may appear to be a more or less uninteresting performance. A modern critical student may regret that so much learning, acumen and subtlety should have been expended upon trivialities and on matters that are of evanescent interest. But a modern critic must bear in mind that Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was writing for his time and that in appraising the value of his work we must not be too severe on him for not having anticipated the needs of to-day. One is really struck by his mastery of the Mīmāñsā and his skilful employment of some of the Mīmāñsānyāyas. He very frequently refers to the following maxims :— अर्धजरतीय, उपसंहारैन्याय, शाखान्तरन्याय सामान्यविशेषन्याय, सावकाशनिरवकाशन्याय, विधिशेष, कल्पनालाघव.

Some of the Sūtras and Adhikaraṇas of Jaimini frequently referred to are 'सन्दिग्धेषु वाक्यशेषात्' (पू. मी. सूत्र I. 4. 29); 'तार्तीयन्यायेन दत्तो धावति नखानि कृन्तति इत्यादिवत् फलिसंस्कारतया विकल्पेनोपवासादीनामङ्गत्वावसायात्' (पू. मी. सूत्र III. 7. 6); 'एकस्य तूभयत्वे संयोगपृथक्त्वमिति चातुर्थिकन्यायेन दधिवदुभयार्थत्वं मेने' (IV. 3. 5–7); 'यथा हि षष्ठे अयज्ञिया वै माषाश्चणकाः क्रोद्रवाश्चेति निषेधो व्रीह्यादिनियमेनैव माषादिव्यावृत्तौ व्यर्थः सन् प्रतिनिधित्वेन निषेधतीत्युक्तम्' (VI. 3. 20); 'बहूनां स्यात्सधर्मत्वमिति न्यायेन संकोचाख्यबाधस्यायोगात्' (पू. मी. सू. XII. 2. 22).

Among the authors and works mentioned by name are the following :—अग्निपुराण, अत्रि (verse), अनन्तभट्ट author of कालनिर्णय, अपरार्क, आपस्तम्बीय (verse), आश्वलायन (गृह्यसूत्र), उज्ज्वला (commentary of हरदत्त on आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र), ऋष्यशृङ्ग, ऐतरेयब्राह्मणभाष्यकार, कर्क, कर्मप्रदीप (of कात्यायन), कात्यायन, [1]कालनिर्णय, कालनिर्णयदीपिका, कालादर्श (as

1 There are several works bearing the name कालनिर्णय. In one place we have अनन्तभट्टकालनिर्णयेऽपि and in another place we read 'हेमाद्रितात्पर्यवेत्तृभिःकालनिर्णयकारैःसामान्यत उक्तम्'.

quoting विज्ञानयोगी), कालिकापुराण, कार्ष्णाजिनि, कुमारिल (also as भट्टपादाः), गरुडपुराण, गोभिल (गृह्यसूत्र), श्लोकगौतम, चन्द्रिका (स्मृतिचन्द्रिका), चतुर्विंशतिमत, जाबालि, जातूकर्ण्य, ज्योतिःपराशर, टोडरानन्द, डामरकल्प, तन्त्ररत्न (of पार्थसारथिमिश्र), त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, दशश्लोकी, दुर्गावतीप्रकाश, दुर्वासस्, द्राह्यायणसूत्र, देवीपुराण, देवीरहस्य, धन्विभाष्यकार, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, धौम्य, नागरखण्ड, नारदीयपुराण, बृहन्नारदीय, नारायणवृत्ति (on आश्वलायनगृह्य), नृसिंहप्रसाद, न्यायसुधा, पद्मपुराण, पद्धतिकार, पराशरस्मृति, बृहत्पराशर, परशुरामप्रसाद, पार्थसारथि, पुराणसमुच्चय, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, पैठीनसि, प्रक्रियाकौमुदी, प्रचेतस्, बृहत्प्रचेतस् प्रजापति, प्रतापरुद्रनिबन्ध (सरस्वतीविलास ?), प्रयोगपारिजात, बौधायन, (both prose and verse), ब्रह्मपुराण, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, भविष्योत्तर, भारद्वाजसूत्र, भृगु (not मनुस्मृति), मण्डन, मदनपारिजात, मदनरत्न, मनुस्मृति, माधवाचार्य, (author of कालनिर्णय and पराशरमाधवीय), मार्कण्डेयपुराण, मेधातिथि, मैत्रायणीयपरिशिष्ट, यज्ञतन्त्रसुधानिधि, बृहद्यम, रामचन्द्राचार्य, (described as शब्दशासनाभिज्ञतरैः), रामभाण्डारभाष्य, रायमुकुट, रुद्रधर, रुद्रयामल, लल्लसंहिता, लाट्यायनसूत्र, वासिष्ठ (verse), वह्निपुराण, वामनपुराण, वायुपुराण, विज्ञानेश्वर, विष्णुधर्म, विष्णुरहस्य, व्यास, शास्त्रदीपिका, शाट्यायनि, शातातप, शुद्धिविवेक, शूलपाणि, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, संग्रह, सुमन्तु, भट्टसोमेश्वर (author of न्यायसुधा), स्कन्दपुराण, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमहार्णव, स्मृतिसंग्रह (probably the same as संग्रह above); स्मृतिरत्नावलि, स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरदत्त (as author of मिताक्षरा on गौतमधर्मसूत्र), हरि (author of वाक्यपदीय, हारीत, लघुहारीत, हिरण्यकेशिसूत्र), हेमाद्रि.

It is not yet settled beyond controversy whether Haradatta the author of commentaries on the *Dharmasūtras* of Āpastamba and Gautama, is identical with Haradatta, the author of the celebrated grammatical work Padamañjarī. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa refers to Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharmasūtras and without marking any distinction speaks of Haradatta as expounding a Kārikā of Harī.[1] This induces one to think that, in the opinion of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, Haradatta, the author of a commentary on Gautama, was also a profound Grammarian. The quotation from

[1] 'तदुक्तं हरिणा—गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात् प्रेषणे कर्मतां गतः। नियमात्कर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वधर्मेणाभिधीयते॥ अस्यार्थो हरदत्तेन विवृतः.

Haradatta is found in the Padamañjarī and as Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa makes no difference between the two Hara-dattas, it may safely be inferred that according to him they are identical.

It appears that Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's son, Dāmodarabhaṭṭa, wrote a *pariśiṣṭa* to the Dvaitanirṇaya.[1] Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa seems to have commented on the Śāstracīpikā of Pārthasārathi.[2] We read in the Saṃskāramayūkha, cited by the son of Nīlakaṇṭha, that the editors' grand-father (Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa) wrote a work called Śāstradīpikā-prakāśa.

One topic of great interest to modern students of Hindu Law deserves notice here. In most works on adoption a passage attributed to Śaunaka is cited, *viz.* **'दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते.'** Some interpret this passage as declaring that only a Śūdra can adopt his sister's or daughter's son and not a person belonging to the three other castes. Others interpret it as meaning that a Brāhmaṇa may adopt a daughter's or sister's son, but that, if available, a Śūdra must prefer a daughter's or sister's son to any one else. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa approves of the latter view. In the Vyavahāramayūkha, Nīlakaṇṭha refers to his father's exposition of this subject and follows it.

1 अस्मत्सुतदामोदरभट्टकृतेऽस्मत्कृत-द्वैतनिर्णयस्य परिशिष्टे दत्ताक्षतायाःकन्यायाः पुनर्दानं परस्य चेति कलिनिषेधव्याख्याने उक्तम्.

2 'इत्यादि बहुदूषणैरयं पक्षोऽस्माभिर्मातुलकन्यापरिणयस्य दुराचारत्वमुपपादयद्भिः शास्त्रदीपिकांशे निरस्तः.'

THE RELATION OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE BĀDARĀYAṆA SŪTRAS*

R. D. KARMARKAR

The thirteenth Adhyāya of the *Bhagavadgītā* commences with a discussion about the Kṣetra and the Kṣetrajña and referring to this topic the following verse is introduced which contains the expression Brahmasūtra.

ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छन्दोभिर्विविधैः पृथक् ।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः ॥ (XIII. 3)

The question that is proposed to be discussed here is (1) what is meant by the expression *Brahmasūtra* (2) whether the expression refers to the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa.

The verse is translated by Telang as follows:—'(all which) is sung in various ways by sages in numerous hymns, distinctly, and in well-settled texts full of arguments, giving indications of full instruction about Brahman.'[1]

John Davies translates: 'All this has been sung separately, in many ways by Ṛsis, in various songs, and in well-thought-out verses of Brahma-sūtras, that treat of the causes of things.'[2]

Garbe translates: '(Diesser ist) von Weisen in verschiedenen Liedern vielfach und in eigentümlicher Weise besungen und mit den wohlbegründeten Worten des Brahma-sūtra festgestellt worden.'[3]

Tilak translates: 'This i.e. this subject has been sung in many ways, in various Chandases, separately by (many) sages and also by the padas in Brahmasūtras that have been fully settled with logical reason.'[4]

* Read at the First Oriental Conference, November 1919.

1 P. 102, S. B. E. Vol. VIII. Bhagavadgītā etc.

2 P. 136.

3 P. 128, Garbe regards this verse as a later Vedāntic interpolation.

4 P. 783, Gītārahasya (in Marathi).

The expression Brahmasūtrapada has been variously rendered as 'giving indications or full instruction about Brahman' (Telang) 'hymns in honour of Brahman' (Davies) 'the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa (Garbe, Tilak and Rāmānuja), ब्रह्मणः सूचकानि वाक्यानि ब्रह्मसूत्राणि तैः पद्यते गम्यते ज्ञायते ब्रह्मेति तानि पदानि 'आत्मेत्येवोपासीत' इत्यादीनि (Śaṅkara) ब्रह्मसूचकैर्ब्राह्मणवाक्यैः तत्त्वमसीत्यादिभिरित्यर्थः (Nīlakaṇṭha), 'यतो वा इमानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति' इत्यादीनि तटस्थलक्षणपराण्युपनिषद्वाक्यानि स्वरूपलक्षणपराणि 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म' इत्यादीनि (Madhusūdana, Śridhara).

छन्दोभिः in the first line has been variously rendered as 'hymns' from the Vedas about ordinary or special actions and so forth' (Telang), 'various songs, chanted hymns' (Davies,) 'Chandas. (Tilak), 'Upaniṣads (Garbe),[1] ऋगादीनि (Śaṅkara), वेदैर्मन्त्रैर्वा (Nīlakaṇṭha) ऋगादिमन्त्रैर्ब्राह्मणैश्च (Madhusūdana).

हेतुमद्भिः is also variously interpreted as 'full of arguments e.g. in texts like 'How can entity come from non-entity?' 'Who could breathe,' etc. (Telang Madhusūdana' Śridhara), 'that treat of causes of things' (Davies). 'wohl begründeten' (Garbe), युक्तियुक्तैः (Śaṅkara), अचेन सोम्य इज्ञेनासोमूलमन्विच्छ etc. इत्यादिना कार्यलिङ्गान्यनुमानिनां हेतवः तद्वद्भिः (Nīlakaṇṭha.)

Tilak has satisfactorily shown that the expression Brahmasūtra must be taken to refer to a work in Sūtra style and not to any indiscriminate passages from the Upaniṣads. It will be seen that the verse refers to two different sources that treat of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña topic. The first is the Chandas which treats of the topic in a loose and slipshod fashion as is shown by the expressions Vividhaiḥ and Pṛthak. Obviously a contrast with this source is intended in the second line which puts in Hetumadbhiḥ and Viniścitaiḥ to balance with Vividhaiḥ and Pṛthak. The word Hetu in Hetumadbhiḥ means here 'logical reasoning' as remarked by Tilak and not simply 'cause.' The

1 Ich bin auch der meinung dass man nur an das sūtras des Bādarāyana zu denken hat. P. 128 Unter der Liedern in der ersten Zeile verstehe ich Upaniṣads.

expression Hetumat and Sahetuka (Śāntiparvan 320-191, and Udyogaparvan 131-2) are used in that very sense, in the Mahābhārata. The expression Chandobhiḥ must refer to the Upaniṣads as a topic like that of the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña comes more within their province than that of the Vedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇas. If then, we understand by Brahmasūtrapada also passages from Upaniṣads, chosen at random, the propriety of Caiva and Hetumadbhiḥ would disappear. In contrast with Chandobhiḥ in the first line, we must understand by Brahmasūtra a compact, systematic work dealing with Brahman and fortified with logical reasoning. Mr. C. V. Vaidya[1] suggests that Chandobhiḥ refers to the metrical portions of the Veda and Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ to the prose portion of the Veda i.e. the Brāhmaṇas or to the prose Upaniṣads. It is not quite clear what he means by the metrical portions of the Veda. If he refer to metrical portions of the Upaniṣads in that expression, I see why they should not be also Hetumatbhiḥ and Viśvataḥ. There is also no propriety in making a division like prose part and the metrical part. If by Chandobhiḥ only the Vedasaṁhitā is meant, no such philosophical topic is discussed separately, in various ways, by many sages in the Veda. Mr. Vaidya again says that the word sūtra in Brhmasūtrapadaiḥ is not used in the usual sense viz. that of concise, algebraical expressions with condensed meaning, but it means 'any work dealing with a particular topic.' He remarks that the Bauddhas and the Jainas use the word sūtra to refer to prose treatises e.g. Brahmajālasutra and not to a work in the Sūtra style. It is difficult to agree with Mr. Vaidya. The word Sūtra is not used to mean 'any work dealing with a particular topic' in Sanskrit literature. The argument that the Bauddhas use the word in a particular sense has no force. The Bauddhas must have given this extended meaning to the word, because they wanted their works to be more popular and not restricted to the choice few who would have the opportunity of learning the

[1] Upasaṁhāra to the Mahābhārata (Marathi).

sacred doctrine from a Guru. They at the same time could not but borrow the word Sūtra which had already secured a special sacred significance in Brahmanical literature. The expression Brahmasūtra must therefore refer to a work in the Sūtra style, dealing with Brahman.

The next question is, which is the Brahmasūtra referred to in this verse? Tilak thinks that by Brahmasūtra, we must understand the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras. Thus Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras would be prior to the Gītā. But Bādarāyaṇa seems to be referring to the Gītā in his Sūtras. Śaṅkara takes the following Sūtras to refer to the Gītā (स्मृतेश्च I. 2-6; अपि च स्मर्यते I. 3-23; उपपद्यते चाप्युपलभ्यते च II. 1-36; अपि च स्मर्यते II. 3-45; दर्शयति चाथो अपि स्मर्यते III. 2-17; अनियमः सर्वासामविरोधः शब्दानुमानाभ्याम् III. 3-31; स्मरन्ति च IV. 1-10; योगिनः प्रति च स्मर्यते IV. 2-21); and the Sūtras II 3-45; and IV. 2-21 are taken by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva and Vallabha to [illegible] Gītā. It may be presumed therefore that the Gītā [illegible] to in the Bādarāyaṇasūtras. Thus the Gītā would be p[illegible] the Vedāntasūtras, and the Vedāntasūtras are prior to the G[illegible] if Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ refers to them. How are we to find a way out of this difficulty? Mr. Tilak suggests that one and the same Vyāsa was responsible for the Gītā as well as the Vedāntasūtras. Vyāsa compiled the Vedāntasūtras before the present Mahābhārata and so referred to them in the Gītā but as a Bhārata with the Gītā existed before the Vedāntasūtras, the Vedāntasūtras were referred to in the original Gītā. Vyāsa may have re-touched the original Gītā, when the Mahābhārata was evolved out of the Bhārata. Mr. Tilak further remarks that the doctrine of Caturvyūha was favoured by the original Gītā, but Vyāsa did not accept that doctrine and so abandoned that view when he incorporated the present Gītā in the Mahābhārata and established the relation of the Jīva and Brahman as that of the part and the whole.

Mr. Tilak's explantion, ingenious though it is, is hardly convincing. He is inconsistent when he says that the relation of the

Jīva and Brahman as that of the part and the whole was settled in the re-touched Gītā as the Vedāntasūtras compiled before in अपि च स्मर्यते (II. 3. 45) refer to ममैवांशो जीवलोके etc. (XV. 7.) of the Gītā, thus showing that the relation of the Jīva and Brahman as that of the part and the whole was already settled in the original Gītā. Even tradition is against the view that one and the same Vyāsa was the compiler of both the Gītā and the Vedāntasūtras. It is Vedavyāsa who is traditionally regarded as the compiler of the Mahābhārata, while the author of the Vedāntasūtras is Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa. The verse Ṛṣibhiḥ, etc clearly shows that the author could not have referred to his own work by Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ. He is obviously drawing our attention to the fact that the topic of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña which he has raised in that chapter is not quite a new unauthorised topic sprung [illegible] the reader, but that it has been discussed by *other* sages also. The internal evidence of both the Gītā and Vedāsūtras provides us with most conclusive arguments [illegible]r. Tilak's theory. The Gītā looks upon Sāṁkhya and Yoga as two important ways leading to the same goal and is permeated through and through with the doctrines of these two systems of philosophy. The Vedāntasūtras, on the other hand seem to be using all their energy in refuting the Sāṁkhya doctrine, as many as nineteen Sūtras being clearly reserved for this task (I. 1. 5-11, II. 1. 1-2; II. 2. 1-10;). As regards Yoga, it is regarded as a thing of no consequence by the Vedāntasūtras which dismiss it up with scant courtesy in one Sūtra II. 1. 3. (एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः). When the Sāṁkhya is refuted, the Yoga is as good as refuted, say the Vedāntasūtras. No doubt the Vedāntasūtras refer to Dhyāna, Āsana etc. connected with Yoga (IV. I. 7-11), but that comes in only secondarily. Is it possible then, for one and the same author to be the partisan of a doctrine on which he bases his whole philosophical structure in one of his works, while he does his level best to refute the very doctrine in another work? Surely the Gītā and the Vedāntasūtras could not have been written by one and the same person. The Sūtras of

Bādarāyaṇa present to us a more or less systematic arrangement, they take great pains to refute the Buddhistic doctrine in detail and unmistakably point to the thorough grasp of the subject by their author. The Gītā on the other hand indulges in vain repetitions and cannot certainly be regarded as a regular systematic work, though attempts are made now and then to show that it is absolutely systematic. The Gītā makes no *clear* allusion to Buddhism[1] which the Gītā would have certainly dealt with more liberally if it had been so powerful at the time of its composition. Probably the Gītā belongs to the Pre-Buddhistic period or at any rate to a period when Buddhism was in its infancy. But the most important argument to disprove the theory that the Gītā refers to the Bādarāyaṇasūtras is that the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras do not so much as mention the words Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña. The Gīta tells us that the question of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña is treated of in the Sūtras. The Gītā introduces this terminology in the thirteenth Adhyāya for the first time and it is used only in that Adhyāya. We should naturally expect to see these two technical words referred to in the Sūtras. It may be argued that though the words Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña do not occur in the Sūtras, the subject is treated therein. But such an argument cannot stand when we take into consideration the fact that a distinct reference in connection with these two words is made. Is it not more natural to suppose that the expression Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ refers us to some other Sūtra work where these very words are used?

It has thus been shown that the expression Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ cannot refer to the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras, but must refer to similar other works. It is true that we are not aware of any other similar Brahmasūtras, but that surely does not mean that

[1] The expression Brahmanirvāna (II. 72, V. 24, 25, 26) used four times in the Gitā *may* have been used as a contrast to Buddhanirvāna. It is also possible that the Gitā may have taken that expression from the Kala philosophy referred to in Mahābhārata. The verse असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं etc. (XVI. 8) refers more probably to the Lokāyatikas than to the Bauddhas.

no such work ever existed. The Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras refer by name to the sages Bādari, Kāśakṛtsna, Auḍulomi, Ātreya, Āśmarathya and Jaimini. Bādarāyaṇa controverts their doctrines on important points like the relation of the soul and Brahman, the condition of the soul after death and so on. Bādarāyaṇa seems to have been the last of the Vedāntasūtrakāras who probably evolved his work out of the Sūtras already existing. It is known for certain that there existed certain Sūtra works in Grammar before Pāṇini whose monumental work easily threw them into oblivion. Some such fate seems to have overtaken the earlier Vedāntasūtras that were driven out of the field by Bādarāyaṇa's work. It is to these earlier Vedāntasūtras which must have discussed the question of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña, by using that very terminology that the Gītā refers by the expression Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ in the verse quoted in the beginning. The Gītā could have only some authoritative Sūtra work for its guide in adopting this terminology. Curiously enough this phraseology seems to have fallen soon into disfavour. The Yogasūtras contain the word Kṣetra only once while the Sāṁkhya Sūtras and the Kārikā do not mention Kṣetra or Kṣetrajña at all. The reason seems to be that the Vedāntasūtras did not accept this terminology, because Bādarāyaṇa thought it rather awkward to designate the soul as Kṣetrajña when it was intended to speak of him as the Kṣetrastha. We find therefore the expression Śārīra preferred by Bādarāyaṇa, and other Sūtrakāras following the Vedāntasūtras which soon came to be regarded with great respect, did not trouble themselves with the terminology used by the Gītā.

THE UNKNOWN YĀ IN PERSIAN.*

SHAIKH 'ABDUL QADIR.

In Western India and especially in Bombay, one finds it generally held that there are two kinds of Persian—the Indian and the Mughal (or Persian)—and at times a sort of differenciation is accordingly made between them, not only in the use of certain words, construction of sentences, tenses of verbs &c., but also in pronunciation, in which latter respect the difference is more clearly marked. When an Indian or a Persian gentleman speaking Persian or professing to know and teach it, is asked to assign reason why he prefers a particular expression or pronunciation, he gives no satisfactory answer, and contents himself with the remark that his own usage or pronunciation appears to him to be correct while that of the other party sounds uncouth. The Indian gentleman often forgets that his Persian is fashioned more after the classical model (from which the so-called Modern Persian is more or less either a derivation or deviation) and that he has not kept himself in touch with the later changes which the language has undergone, especially in Persia. The Persian gentleman on the otherhand, does not seem to remember that there was a classical period in the history of his language, when the expression was more terse and the style more vigorous and lucid than in modern Persian and that in the development of the latter "unfortunately the inclination towards laxity of expression has proved stronger than the tendency towards lucidity." He also forgets, as has been rightly pointed out, that it is to this circumstance that we must ascribe "the great lack of rule and partially apparent, partially real, arbitrariness and inconsistency of the language which renders use of some parts of speech, especially the conjunctions and prepositions, a difficulty for the pupil and for the teacher. Also the inflection of the verb has

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lost some of its clearness and simplicity by the various forms being now frequently interchangeable, whereas in the classical language they were distinctly differentiated" (Dr. Fritz Rosen's Neupersischer Sprachführer).

Under such circumstances it is highly desirable that while the Indian scholar should try to rationalize his conservative love for the classical idiom, and according to the old saying لكل جديد لذة taste for himself the sweets of modern idiom, the Persian gentleman also should exert himself to maintain as far as possible, the original purity and graceful simplicity of his mother-tongue and protect it against disastrous inroads of foreign influences. This naturally calls for a comparison of classical and modern Persian, but unfortunately even amongst advanced scholars there is a regrettable lack of attention on this point. It is true, that although it is not an easy matter to decide which idiom, tense or construction in a particular case is technically correct, yet every such case ought to be sufficiently interesting to repay the labour bestowed on its solution. Such a study belongs to the jurisdiction of a Scientific Grammatical Comparison of Classical and Modern, or Indian and Persian, Persian. This subject is vast and varied, and in its various divisions, such as syntax, accidence, orthography, orthoepy, etc., presents numerous difficulties, the solution of which largely depends upon a comparative knowledge of Arabic, Avesta, and Pahlavi languages. I have devoted some time to the study of the orthoepical portion thereof, and I propose here to deal with a very small part of it.

Those who have heard Persian and Indian gentlemen speak or recite Persian, must have been struck with differences in their pronunciations. These differences, clearly noticeable in the pronunciation of فتحه , كسره , ضما , حروف ممالة , نون غنّه , واو مجهول and ياى مجهول as a rule, do not strike people in Upper India (where the Mughal gentleman is rarely to be met with) so much as here in Bombay, where the East and the West are constantly intermingling to the loss of the one and the gain of the other.

In fact no serious notice is generally taken of the peculiarities of modern Persian pronunciation in Upper India, but here in Bombay and its presidency they have acquired great importance. It is regarded a linguistic sin to pronounce Persian words in any other way except that of the Mughal whom we so commonly see in Bombay. Nay, a successfull aping of persian idiosyncracies of gesture and pronunciation at times, passes for a proof of proficiency in Persian language and literature.

نه هر که چهره برافروخت دلبری داند - نه هر که آئنه سازد سکندری داند
نه هر که طرف کله کج نهاد و تند نشست - کلاه داری و آئین سروری داند

This condition of things has caused a deal of misunderstanding and has created a difference of opinion amongst Persian scholars as regards the question viz., of the two ways of pronunciation the Indian and the Persian, which is to be regarded as correct.

One might say what does it matter if a word is pronounced one way or the other, as long as its meaning is rightly conveyed? Indeed, it may not matter much with common people, but from an academic point of view it is not so insignificant as to be passed over. In addition to its academic or purely scientific value, the question here has a practical value as well. It affects to a certain extent the teaching of Persian in our schools and colleges. In this presidency there are two classes of Persian teachers, Indians and Persians, and it has been found by experience that when they train their students for examinations they naturally train them after their respective fashions of pronunciation. Now when at an examination a candidate reads Sa'dī, 'Aṭṭār, Firdawsī, Nizāmī, Rūmī, Hāfiz or Jāmī, after the Indian fashion and his examiner happens to be a gentleman who regards the Persian fashion alone to be the correct one, and the Indian to be faulty, he will naturally judge the reading of the candidate as 'bad,' 'Indian,' 'un-Persian,' and give him less marks than otherwise, even if the candidate's reading in a certain sense be quite correct. On the other hand, if an Indian candidate were to read Qā'ānī, Sarkhush, Nashāṭ etc., after the Persian fashion, and the

examiner were a gentleman believing the Indian fashion alone to be the correct one, he would naturally regard the candidate's reading a blind imitation of the foreign mode and be unnecessarily prejudiced against him. It is therefore practically useful both to the teacher and the taught to ascertain which of the two ways is the proper one, and accordingly proceed with his work. But as far as I have been able to enquire, very little attention seems to have been paid to a scientific study of this question. No clear ideas on this subject are generally held. The problem viz. a critical study and exposition of all the differences of pronunciation, is again too vast to be conveniently compressed within the space of a short paper like this. I intend, therefore, to confine myself to the consideration of a very small part of it, viz., the pronunciation of a single letter of the alphabet, the Yā or more strictly speaking of the two varieties of it, to confine myself to the pronunciation of only one of them, namely the Yā-è-Majhūl, or the Unknown Yā.

Accordingly this paper is divided into two parts: Part I is mainly argumentative, in which an attempt is made to show the real value of the so-called Indian pronunciation of the Unknown Yā; in Part II its nature is explained and its several varieties are considered at some length. Finally a list is given of words (with illustrations taken from standard authors) which contain the Yā-é-Majhūl and which generally occur in the classical literature of Muslim Persia and Muslim India.

If some of the conclusions drawn in this paper are accepted, they would no doubt tend to a revolutionary change in the generally accepted views on the orthoëpy of a certain class of Persian words. They ought to show that the way in which the modern Persian reads certain words occuring in the works of classical poets like Firdawsī, Anwarī, Sanā'ī, Rūmī, Nizāmī, Sadī, or even Hāfiz, is quite wrong, and that the right way of pronouncing them is the so-called Indian, which is unjustly condemned as 'corrupt,' 'vicious,' and 'erroneous.'

PART I.

I have been observing since a long time that amongst our Persian scholars who are engaged in studying and teaching Classical Persian for academic purposes, in Bombay and other principal towns in the Presidency, there prevails a good deal of misunderstanding as regards the pronunciation of those Persian words in which the Yā-è-Majhūl occurs There are two ways in which these words are generally pronounced: the one is called the Persian or the Mughal way and the other, the Indian way; شیر (Lion) which has the Yā-é-Majhūl in it, is pronounced by the Persian like 'Sheer' rhyming with Teer (arrow), while the Indian pronounces it like the English word 'Share.' The former is commonly regarded as the only correct pronunciation, and the latter is generally condemned as quite wrong. It is even believed that the latter is purely an invention of Indian Muslims, modelled after their Urdu pronunciation, and that it is positively un-Persian. Persians, several Indians (including Parsees, Hiudus and Muslims) and even Europeans* seem to share this view.

Consequently wrong ideas have crept into the minds of our students as well as teachers and and an attempt is made in this part to prove (1) that the so called Indian pronunciation is not at all Indian, in the sense that it is peculiar to and an invention of Indian Muslims; (2) that it is purely and properly Persian; (3) that it existed in Persia for centuries before it came to be learnt by the Indian Muslims; (4) that under certain circumstances it is not at all 'corrupt' and 'vicious' but scientifically more correct;

*For example Prof. Browne in his widely-read work "A Year amongst the Persians" observes (P. 14) "I had originally acquired from my Indian friends the *erroneous* and unlovely pronunciations current in India, which I now abandoned with all possible speed." "I mention this chiefly because this word (the Persian for Lion 'Shir') *mispronounced* Shèr (like English Share) is applied in India to the tiger, which animal is properly termed Babr' in Persia;" (p. 91;) "he spoke Persian after the *corrupt* and *vicious* fashion prevalent in India." (p. 440.)

and (5) that the modern Persian pronunciation seems in a certain sense as degenerate as it is foreign to Persia.

To prove this I shall resort to *four* arguments, and to secure fairness, avoid all evidence that can be gathered from works of Indian scholars; and summon only such as I have hitherto been able to collect from works of *genuine and standard Persian* writers only.

At the very outset I wish it to be clearly understood that I do not for a moment wish to condemn modern Persian pronunciation, on the contrary I entertain every respect and love for it. In studying and teaching modern Persian, if no attempt is made to differenciate between the pronunciation of the Yā-è-ma'rūf and that of the Yā-è-Majhūl I do not think it would be quite wrong for (غلط العام فصیح) because the present spoken idiom and the written language both seem to ignore it. But it would be a serious error, if, judging from the present condition, one were to conclude that in classical Persian also no such distinction was observed or that it did not exist in Persia at all. One may allow the neglect of the difference between the pronunciation of the two Ya's, if it be a question of the language of the Safawid or the Qājār periods, but to imagine and to teach that Rūdakī, Firdawsī Sanāī, Anwarī Khāqānī, Rūmī, Nizāmī, Sa'dī, or Hāfiz pronounced نشیب and قریب , فریب and رقیب , شکیب and نصیب, شیر (lion) and شیر (milk) نیل and اردسیل and سپید and امزید, etc., alike, without observing the difference between the pronunciation of the Majhūl and Ma'rūf, is in my humble opinion not only wrong, but historically and philologically a blunder.

Argument 1.

To begin with let me first of all draw your attention to the significance of the term Yā-è-Majhūl itself. We often find it stated in Persian lexicons and grammatical works, that there are two kinds of Yā in Persian, namely, the Ma'rūf and the Majhūl. The Ma'rūf or known Yā is the Yā which occurs in such words

رقیب , تیر , شیر , (milk) دیْ , پیل etc., while the Majhūl or the Unknown Yā occurs in such words as خویش , تیز , شیر (lion), سپید etc.

Here let us ask ourselves a question: why, when and by whom were the two Yā's called the Known and the Unknown? In answer to this question it may be stated that they were called 'known' or 'unknown' according as the sound happened to be known or unknown, not to the Persians but to the Arabs. The two sounds were judged by the Arab ear and named accordingly. This is not peculiar to the case of the two Yā's only. We find other parallel cases in Persian Grammar, wherein sounds of letters or relations of words, have been considered from Arabic point of view, and named in accordance with their comformity or non-conformity with established rules of Arabic Grammar. We have an exactly parallel case of Wāw-è-Ma'rūf and Wāw-è-Majhūl. Another instance is found in the so-called Izāfat-è-Maqlūbī or Inverted Izāfat. It is called 'inverted' because in it the مضاف and the مضاف الیه are found placed not in their usual (i.e. Arabic) order of sequence but in an unusual one. If the مضاف precedes the مضاف الیه as in Arabic, it is regarded as being in the proper order, but if it be preceded by the مضاف الیه then it is in improper i.e., Inverted (مقلوب) order, e.g., ملجاء العالم or گیهان خدید , عالم پناه , جهان پناه the proper order; but جان آفرین , دل etc. and hundreds of others so natural to Persian, are in improper order and are called 'inverted.' Several centuries ago Ibn-è-Dunya-ser" (the name of the place where Ibn Isfahāni died) being a Persian Dunya Ser (the world's head); *to place the consequent before genitive case.*" As a

Arabic Grammar. Indeed a scientific grammar of Persian is still a desideratum.

It seems then quite fair to argue that if these two disntinct sounds of Yā had not existed in Persia in the days when the Arabic characters came to be employed for writing Persian, there would not have arisen the necessity of naming them separately. Darmesteter, the famous French Orientalist justly remarks "At the time of the introduction of the Arab alphabet in Persia the dipthongs ê and ô were still very distinct from î and û. Since the Arabs did not posses the sounds ê and ô, they employed to represent them that sign of the vowels which approached them most, î, û: ی, و."

It follows then that the Majhūl sound of the Yā was not unfamiliar or unknown to the Persians, but it was unfamiliar or unknown to the Arabs; that it did exist in Persia, at least at the time of the Arab conquest; that therefore it is not peculiarly Indian; and that if it is lost in modern Persian it is because the Persian people have fallen away from the usage of their ancestors.

ARGUMENT 2.

Considering the question historically and philological finds that in the period immediately preceding the Arab *i. e.* in Sasānian times, the two sounds did exist in though one and the same sign was used to rep them. But we must not forget that it is a pe Pahlavi alphabet that one and the same alphab to represent several sounds, e.g. the symbol sound of N, also stands for V, U:, (in th words) and U, O, E, L; the letter for Y, É, as well. Going further b the Avesta language the tw not only distinct and

of the first syllable is Yā-è-Majhūl, which means that in more ancient times it was pronounced Berun (or Bayroon). This statement rests on the authority of the Persian lexicographers. That the name was pronounced in this way in Central Asia about the author's time, we learn from an indisputable statement regarding our author from the pen of Sam'ānī, a philologist and biographer of high repute, who wrote only one hundred years after the author's death."

Referring to this passage the indefatiguable editor of the Chahār Maqāla, Mirzā Muhammad Qazwīnī in his valuable notes appended at the end of the book says :—

" و چون یای بیرون یاء مجهول است و این کلمه در زمان ابو ریحان بهمان نحو که اقتضای یاء مجهول است [یعنی کسرهٔ مُشبعه] تلفظ می شده و آن در تلفظ عربی اشبه اشیاء است بیاء ساکنه ما قبل مفتوح لهذا مصنفین عرب این کلمه را بیرون بفتح باء ضبط کرده اند..."

quotes Sam'ānī's remark viz.

البیرون بفتح الباء الموحده و سکون الیاء etc.

Said the Mirza's explanation that the Yā é-Majhūl ced with a کسرهٔ مُشبعه will hold good only if the کسره is d after the manner of the Indians; I mean the کسره words as بهتر (better); otherwise it would be Yā-é-Ma'rūf. Other authorities differ from the Mirza and I think they are quite right. Shams-é-Qays in his invaluable Mu'jam says :—

„کسرهٔ ما قبل یاء دو گونه باشد مُشبعه و ملینه - مشبعه چنانک کسرهٔ نیل و زنخبیل و ملینه چنانک کسرهٔ دیر و پریر و متقدمان شعراء ... متحرک بکسره مشبعه را مکسور معروف و بکسرهٔ ملینه را مکسور مجهول (خوانده اند)

Sipahr says :—" یای معروف یعنی باشباع گفته شود"

If an objection is raised here that Dr. Sachau's remark and Sam'ānī's statement only prove that the Yā-è-Majhūl was differently pronounced from the Yā-é-Ma'rūf, only in Central Asia, but not in Persia proper, it would in my humble opinion practically amount to nothing. In those days Central Asiatic towns like Samarkand, Bokhara, Khiva or Khwarazm etc., and Afghan towns

like Ghazni, Herat, Ghor etc. were centres of Muslim Persian learning; and the Khorasan of those days was more wide than its modern namesake. Persian poetry was born not in modern Persia but in central Asia. Rudakī, Daqīqī, Firdausī, 'Unṣurī, Farrukhī, Rūmī and hundreds of other contemporary poets wrote and lived not in modern Persia but in Central Asia or Afghanistan. In these regions the difference between the Majhūl and the Ma'ruf sound is still observed, and it is from these regions that Persian first came to India with the invaders It found suitable patronage here and produced masters of Persian poetry like ابو الفرج رونی, فیضی, خسرو, مسعود سعد سلمان whose works have been accepted as models by later poets of Persia. The socalled Indian pronunciation then is not a Modern creation of Indian Muslims, but is the same as what existed and still exists in Afghanistan and Central Asia, the home of post-Islamic Persian.

If then the Persian Classical poets pronounced the Pā containing the Yā-é-Majhūl differently from those of the Ma'rūf one, is it not scientifically speaking correct to read them and read their works just as they read them, and is it not wrong to enforce upon them a pronunciation to which they are strangers? Similarly should it not be considered scientifically wrong to print the works of Firdausī or any classical poet in modernized spelling, and are not, therefore, all these editions whether brought out in Persia, Europe or India scientifically incorrect from this point of view?

Now let us turn to another part of the question viz. how long did the Persian writers continue to observe this difference?

It seems to me that at least up to the death of Hāfiz it was carefully observed and that later on it began to neglected more generally in the Ṣafawid period, until at last in the Qājār period, it appears to have entirely vanished. In the Dīwān è-Hāfiz, (XIV Cent. A.D.) I find that there are 25 ghazals having the Yā-è-Majhūl rhyme, and about 70 having the Yā-è-Ma'rūf; and in none of these ghazals do I find a single instance in which a Yā-è-Majhūl word is made to rhyme with a Yā-è-Ma'rūf one. Is

this not a significant fact? If it is, what does it signify? To my mind, it clearly shows that at least upto the days of Hāfiz the admixture did not take place, and that therefore it must have commenced later. The admixture is clearly found in the days of Lutf-i-'Alī Beg, the author of the آتشکده (XVIII Cent. A.D.) He himself has fallen into this error. He says :—

زرویش تار زلفین گره گیر - چو تار عنکبوتان شد سرا زیر
بود هر کوچهٔ آن از هری به - دشش از حور و دیوش از پری به
فرو شند و خرند آنجا همه چیز - دل جان پرور و جان دا[illegible] یز
نشسته حاجبان زانبار گه دور - ره آمد شدن را بسته برمه
چنین کز بخت حاصل شدامیدم - بکام دل رخ مقصود د[illegible]
دگر می گفت نه این نیست یارمی - بود انیکار دور از یارا

s every rhyme is a faultly rhyme. The author of ...jam, comments as follows :—

باید دانست که سرا زیر با گره گیر و هری با پری..... و د
و مور با دور و امید با دید و آری با یاری قافیه نبود چه و او
از این الفاظ که اول ذکر شد مجهول اند و ثانی معروف"
(براهین pp. 92, 93).

He adduces further examples from سحاب , واله , مجمر and ...ners and points out their faulty rhymes.

To these I may add a few more taken from

دیوان نشاط , کیات قاآنی , دیوان فتحعلی شاه فتـ and ε قصیده by the poet laureate بهار مشهدی which he wrote as ε ...cial tribute to Sir Edward Grey in which he rhymes Grey, (the name of the famous statesman) with نسیم سحری :—

خاقان :—سینهٔ خویش هدف ساختهٔ تیر توایم
با خبر باش که ما کشتهٔ شمشیر توایم
ایضاً :— مملکت دل گرفت حسن جهانگیر تو
گر بکشی حاکمی گردن و شمشیر تو
ایضاً :— دادهام بار دل خویش بچشم مستی -
ای رفیقان شده از دست دل من دستی

بود ربط من و تو از ازل و اکنون تو -
بی سبب رابطه را ای بت من بشکستی -

قاآنی :— ای حسن تو چون فتنهٔ چشم تو جهانگیر -
صد سلسله دل در خم زلف تو بز بخیر -

Then using the تسخیر, تدبیر, تعمیر قافیه he says

مهر یست دل افروز چو بگسارد ساغر -
بر قیست جهانسوز چو بر گیرد شمشیر

هر جا که بود مهرش چون شهد شود سم -
هر جا که بود قهرش چون زهر شود شیر

در سایهٔ عدلش ز بس یمن شده عالم -
آسوده چرد آهو در خوابگه شیر -

حافظ :— مگو عمرت است بی او زندگانی -
که این ناکامی است آن کامرانی
غمش یا نا توانان سازگار یست -
توانائی مجو تا می توانی -
در آن گلشن چه دلبندم که باشد -
پی گلچیدن آنجا باغبانی -

ایضاً :— ای شیفتهٔ روی نکوی تو جهانی -
نیکو نتوان گفت که نیکو تر ازانی
و آنرا که در اوصاف تو باشد سر گفتار -
هر عضو لبی باید و هر موی زبانی

ملک الشعراء بهار :— سوی لندن گذرای باد نسیم سحری
سخنی از من بر گوی بسرادر گری
کای خردمند و زیری که نپرورده جهان *
چون تو دستور خردمند و وزیر هنری
* * * * * *
و ربدی رای تو دایر بحیات ایران *
این همه ناله نمی ماند دون اثری

Sipahr who wrote his Barāhīn-ul-'Ajam about 70 years ago, asks his cotemporaries whose ignorance in these matters he deplores, that they should not mix up in rhyme the Yā-è-Majhūl with the Yā-è-Ma'rūf. Says he :—

"باید دانست که یای معروف را با یای مجهول قافیه نتوان آورد"
(p. 29).

His opinion is further endorsed by a later writer, who wrote only 8 years ago *viz.* Prince Najaf Qulī Mīrzā, author of Durra-è Najafī, a very useful and handy manual of Persian prosody rhyme and figures of speech. He says:—

"شیر خوردنی که یاء آن معروف است با شیر درنده که یاء آن مجهول است قافیه نباید کرد" (p. 88)

Even in modern times inspite of the general assertion that the Majhūl sound has entirely disappeared from Persia, do we not hear the the Persians pronouncing بلے and آرے with a clear Majhūl sound ?

Further it may be remembered that there are certain Persian words which the lexicographers tell us, differ in meaning according as they are pronounced with a Ma'rūf or a Majhūl sound :—*e.g.*

	Ma'rūf		*Majhūl*
شیر	... Milk	...	Lion
سیر	... Garlic	...	Satisfied
ذیر	... Musical Note	...	Low
	... Poison	...	More
		...	Wound

following conclusions *viz.*,
Hāfiz carefully dis-
in reading

ARGUMENT 4.

Now let me turn to the fourth Argument, which is nothing else, but the consensus of opinion of genuine Persian writers on the point. I will simply quote their opinion, leaving them to speak for themselves.

Shams-e-Qays who completed his Mu'jam* at Shiraz about 630 A. H. (1232-33) under the patronage of the Atābegs under whom flourished Shaikh Sa'dī, says: (pp 225-27.)

"ضمه ما قبل واو در لغت پارسی دو گونه بود مُشْبَعَه و و مُلَيِّنَه مشبعه چنانک ضمهٔ حور و سور و ملیه چنانک ضمه روز و یوز و همچنین کسره ما قبل یاء دو گونه باشد مشبعه و ملینه مشبعه چنانک کسرهٔ نیل و زنجبیل و ملینه چنانک کسرهٔ دیر و پریر و متقدمان شعراء متحرک بضمهٔ مشبعه را مرفوع معروف خوانده اند و متحرک بضمهٔ ملینه را مرفوع مجهول و همچنین متحرک بکسرهٔ مشبعه را مکسور معروف و بکسرهٔ ملینه را مکسور مجهول" (p. 225)

"و بهیچ حال میان مکسور معروف و مکسور مجهول در قوافی جمع نشاید کرد از بهر آنکه یاء در مکسور معروف اصلی است و در مکسور مجهول گوئی منقلب است از الف و از ین جهت آنرا با کلمات ممالهٔ عربی ایراد توان کرد چنانک انوری گفته است

بذین دو روزه توقف کی بوک خود نبود
درین مقام سوس و دریر سرای فریب

* The value and importance of this book can be gauged from the following remark of the editor of the text, Mirza Muhammad Qazwini in his Preface to the Gibb Memorial Series:

"This rare and precious work is based on the collation of three manuscripts, two of which are dated 647 A. H. and one 658 A. H."

چرا قبول کنم از کس آنچ عاجبتش * زخلق سرزنشم
باشد از خدای عتاب * ولیکن درین جنس باید که از استعمال کلماتی که
در محاورات بارسی کویان متداول نباشد احتراز کنند تا
معیب نیاید چنانک روذکی گفته است (شعر)

کل صد برگ و مشک و عنبر و سیب * یاسمین سپید و مورد بزیب
این همه یکسره تمام شدست * نزد توای بت ملوک فریب
آنکه گفته است (شعر)

شب عاشقت لیلة القدرست * چون تو بیرون کنی رخ از جیبش
و امالت جلباب در محاورات دری نیاید"

"Sipahr" mustawfi, the famous author of ناسخ التواریخ wrote his براهین العجم فی قوانین اللغة العرب in 1268 A.H. *i.e.* about 70 years ago, "The value of this work can be judged from the circumstances under which it was composed. Nasiruddīn Shah Qajar, wishing to lament the fallen and sunken condition of Persian poetry in these days, one day sent for his minister میرزا آقا خان and after expressing his appreciation of his services to the State, said to him :—

"اینک شعر فارسی نظم دری از درجهٔ خویش ساقط است و شعرای
این زمان را از متقدمین محلی هابط زیرا که چون فتنهٔ چنگیز خان
بالا گرفت و سلطنت مغول بر ایران استیلا یافت وضیع و شریف را

I feel great pleasure in observing that the succesful publication of this rare and precious work was to a great extent due to the disinterested generosity displayed in the spirit of a true and liberal scholar by our worthy chairman, Mr. Salahuddin, who granted the requests of the trustees of the Gibb Memorial Series, and placed at their service, the valuable Ms. of the book preserved in the Oriental Library of his worthy father at Bankipore. I sincerely hope that he will not grudge the same generous and sympathetic help to his Indian brotheren who are engaged in doing research work here, in India, in Persian and Arabic languages and literatures:—

فیض روح القدس ار باز مدد فرماید * دیگران نیز کنند آنچه مسیحا میکرد

با تیغ گذرانیدند و قاضی و دانی را بمعرض دمار در آوردند قانون شعر و قواعد قافیه که شعرا بر زبان داشتند و چنان نزدیک ایشان معروف بود که هرگز در کتابی نمی نگاشتند یکباره درمیان محو و منسی گست چون دیگر باره جهان آرام یافت و نظم جهان ما ندام شد مردم انجمن ساختند و باز بکسب هنر پر داختند و یاد فصاحت کردند و ساز بلاغت نهادند - السنه دیگرگون بود هیچکس از آن قواعد آگهی نداشت لاجرم پانصد سال و برزیادت است که هیچ پارسی زبان شعر صحیح نتواند گفت و هر کس ازین مردمان که طبعی موزون داشت و نظمی نگاشته علیل و سقیم افتاده اکنون کسی باشد که او را قوه قدسیه مدد کند و نفس قدسی نظر فرماید که با ستقرا آن دقایق و لطایف زکلام فصحا استنباط تواند کرد و ببرهان و سند رقم نمود تا قانون فصاحت و بلاغت در دولت ما تازه شعرای درگاه ما از پیشینیان واپس نمانند" *

Thereupon the min ster sent for Sipahr and entrusted tl to him which resulted in the production of the Baráhín author says (pp. 28-29-30).

"باید دانست که در قوافی فارسیه خواه آن قافیه مردف بر دف مفرد باشد چون سرور و سریر و خواه مردف بر دف زاید چون سوخت و گسیخت این واو و یا بر دو نوع بود یا معروف بود یعنی باشباع تمام گفته شود چون واو و یای پور و پیر که با واو و یای کلمات عرب نیز روی آورند مثلاً پور را با سرور و پیر را با سریر توان ورد و یا این واو و یا مجهول بود چون واو شور و یای شیر درنده * پس باید دانست که واو و یای معروف را با واو و یای مجهول قافیه نتوان آورد و با لفاظ عرب که واو و یا دارند هم آوردن خطاست مثلاً شور را با سرور و شمشیر را با وزیر قافیه کردن صحیح نیست مگر الفاظی که در کلمات عرب در حالت اماله بیا خوانند آن نیز حالت یای مجهول پیدا کند مثلاً رکاب را چون رکیب خوانند بانشیب که بایای مجهول بود قافیه آورند لکن با طبیب قافیه کردن خطا بود چنانکه انشاء الله در باب اماله گفته خواهد شد و شعرای متقدم جمیعا رعایت نموده اند و مجهول با معروف نیاورده اند و باید دانست که بعضی الفاظ که با واو و میباشند معنی مختلف دارند بسا باشد که در بعضی

از معانی بیا و واو مجهول اند و در بعضی از معانی بیا و واو معروف چه بسیار کسان که چون ین قواعدش القا نمی از برای انکار ازین قبیل الفاظ پیدا کند و در نیابد و بهمان جهل باقی ماند مثل شیر که چیس بمعنی درنده بود بیای مجهول است و چون بمعنی شیر خوردنی بود بیای معروفست مولوی معنوی در مجهولات یائی غایت سعی مبذول نموده و نیک باید دانست که درین اشعار نیز رعایت کرده است که فرموده * شعر کار پاکان را قیاس از خود میگر - گرچه باشد در نوشتن شیر شیر * یعنی در نوشتن شیر درنده را چون شیر خوردنی نویسد البته چنین بود زیرا که در تکلم تفاوت کند نه در نگارش پس شیر

خوردنی که با یاء معروف [است] با میگر قافیه نموده درین شعر که فرموده شعری آن یکی شیری است کادم می خورد - آن یکی شیری است کادم می خورد * باینکه شیری موصوله است باز آدم در جائی بمنزلهٔ فاعل بود و در جائی بمنزلهٔ مفعول و قافیه شیر نبود و نزد باین بسیار است چنانکه هم اورا ست شعر چون از او گشتی همه او توگشت چون ازاو گشتی همه چیز از توگشت و ازین الفاظ بسیار است چون زیر و زریز و سیر و زور و امثال اینها که در چند معانی بیای مجهولند و در پارهٔ بیای معروف مخاص [؟ ملخص] سخنی آنست که متقدمین مجهول و معروف را قافیه ندانند"

" و باید دانست که یائی که در کلمات مماله بود بتر قیق خوانند و با یای مجهول عجمان انباز بود و قافیه شود و ایراد آنها با یای معروف بر خاطا بود مثلاً کتیب و حسیب با نشیب و فریب قافیه شود اما با طبیب و حبیب روا نبود و همچنان ادیب با شمشیر آید و با تدبیر نشاید و حجیز با گریز روا بود اما با عزیز قافیه نشود و اقبیل با ارد بیل آید و با نیل نشاید واحدی از شعرای متقدم کلمات مماله را با یای معروف قافیه نیاورده اند..... و فتحهٔ که مجاور یا بود چون بکسره من باب الامالة خوانند آن یا نیز بترقیق بود چون عیب و شعیب که بکسر عین خوانند پس با نشیب و زیب آید و سیل و خیل که در امالة بکسر سین مهمله و خای معجمه خوانند با ارد بیل و بیل که با یای مجهول است قافیه سازند"

Then he quotes from آذر the lines given above viz, زرویش تار زلفین etc. and remarks:—

"باید دانست که.....سرا زیر باگر هگیر و هری با پری و زیب با ترتیب و دلاویز با چیز و مور باد ور و امید بادید و آری با یاری قافیه نبود - چه واو و یای هر یک از ین الفاظ که اول ذکر شد مجهول اند و ثانی معروف"

Then he quotes from هاتف - صباحی - سحاب - مجمر

and observes:— واله اصفهانی - عاشق اصفهانی

"یای شکیب مجهولست و یای نصیب معروف و همچنان یای زیست و چیست معروفست و یای نیست و ایست مجهول و باهم روا نبود باگفتار ایشان کردار سایر آشکار است و در کلام هر یک انیگونه سخن از بسیار که ذکر همه موجب اطناب است و مایهٔ رنجش قلوب اصحاب بحدی درین عهد در ایراد غلطات جهد کنند که امثال این قصیدهٔ حکیم انوری ابیوردی را که فرموده صبا بسبزه بیاراست دار دنیی را - نمونه گشت جهان مرغزار عقبی را لفظ دنیی و عقبی و سایر قوافی را بالف خوانند و چنان صحیح دانند و هیچ نگویند که کسنی و فربی که حکیم درین قصیده قافیه فرموده این هر دو لغت فارسی است و با یای مجهول موضوع است چگونه میشود که کس با الف خواند و روی را الف داند پس باید دانست که الفاظ قوافی د مثال این قصیده آنچه فارسی است از قبیل کسنی و دربی و فربی ی همه با یای مجهول موضوع است و آنچه عربی است از قبیل ی و عقبی و اعلی و اولی ممالتا بیا خوانند و یای این الفاظ لت یای مجهول دارد پس نه با الف قافیه شوند و نه بایای روف و بسیاری ازین الفاظ را عجمان مشترک آورند یعنی در قوافی الفی با الف ایراد نمایند و در قوافی یائی امالهٔ نموده بایای مجهول قافیه سازند"

Rizā Qulī Hedāyat, the celebrated author of the Majma'ul Fusaḥā, in his انجمن آرای ناصری under the word شیر says:—

"شیر با اول مکسور و یای مجهول معروفست و برج اسد را نیز گویند.....و دیگر معنی شیر است که میخورند و باین معنی با یای معروفست نه مجهول و استادان شعر این دو یا را با یکدیگر قافیه نمی کنند و فرق میگذارند مولوی گفته کار پاکان را قیاس از خود میگر - گرچه باشد در نوشتن شیر شیر * هست یک شیری که آدم می دارد - و آن دگر شیری که آدم می خورد"*

Prince Najaf Qulī Mirzā wrote in 1911, only eight years ago, his treatise on Prosody, Rhyme and Figures of speech entitled دُرِّ نجفی, meant to be used as a *text-book* in Persian schools. He says (pp. 87 and 88):—

"سابقا وعده کردیم که بیان واو و یاء معروف و مجهول را بنمائیم چون که اکثر شعرا یعنی اساتید معروف را با مجهول قافیه نمی نمایند مثلاً دود را که واو معروف با رود که واوش مجهول یا مثل شیر خود نی که یاء آن معروف است باشیر درنده که یاء آن مجهول است قافیه نباید کرد و این یاء معروف و مجهول علامتی ندارد که از یکدیگر بتوان تمییز داد مگر انیکه بطور سماع است در کتب بعض لغات قید معروف یا مجهول بودن واو و یا را مینمایند - بلی بعضی گویند یاء مجهول بدان ماند که گویا در اصل الف بوده یعنی در تلفظ چنان ادا کنند که اشمامی از الف داشته باشد اینست که مجهول را با کلمات عربی که امالة شده باشد قافیه میکنند مثلاً حجیب را که امالهٔ حجاب است انوری باشکیب آورده -

تا ماه رویم از مه رخ در حجیب دارد
نی دیده خواب دارد نی دل شکیب دارد

CONCLUSION.

In view of the evidence derived from (i) the significance of the term *Yā-é-Majhūl* itself; (ii) the Pahlavī and Avestā languages; (iii) the Works of Post-Islāmic Persian poets; and (iv) the remarks of genuine and standard Persian authors, I think it is justifiable to conclude (1) that the *Yā-é-Majhūl* sound is essentially different from that of the Yā-é-Ma'rūf; (2) that it is a genuine Persian sound, having existed in Persia for centuries in pre-Islāmic as well as post-Islāmic times down to the end of the xiv century A.D.; (3) that the so-called Indian pronunciation is the proper Persian classical pronunciation, which was scrupulously observed by such great Persian poets as Rūdakī, Firdausī, Sanāī, Anwarī, Khāqānī, Nizāmī, 'Attār, Sa'dī, Hāfiz, and their contemporaries; (4) that therefore in reading their works (and generally

speaking Persian literature upto the end of the xiv century A.D) if the words containing it, are pronounced after the Indian (=proper classical Persian) manner, it should not be regarded as incorrect and condemned as 'erroneous', 'corrupt' and 'vicious'; but on the contrary it should be considered as scientifically more correct than the ma'rūf (or modern Persian pronunciation); (5) that in reading Persian literature of the Safawid and subsequent periods, its neglect in favour of the Ma'rūf or the modern Persian sound, may be tolerated, although thoughtful Persian writers themselves (even of so late a date as 1911 A.D.) clearly show their disapproval thereof; (6) that a differenciation between the Majhūl and the Ma'rūf sounds of the Yā commends itself for adoption, because it enables us to grasp more easily and quickly the different senses of one and the same word.

PART II.

I. The Nature of the Yā-e-Majhūl.

The difference between the Yā-é-Ma'rūf and the Yā-é-Majhūl, according to the author of the Anjuman Arā-é-Nāṣirī, is, that while in the former case its preceeding letter is affected by a perfect Kasra (کسرهٔ خالص), in the latter is affected by an imperfect Kasra; He says:—

"اگر ما قبلش (یعنی ما قبل یاء) کسر خالص باشد یائی معروف گویند و اگر خالص نباشد یائی مجهول..... چون ماقبلش کسر خالص باشد برای خطاب باشد چون کردی و گفتی و برای نسبت بود چون باد بهاری و خراسانی ..... وچون ما قبلش کسر خالص نباشد برای تنکیر و وحدت آید چنانکه گوید مردی باین راه رفت یعنی یک مرد"

Philologically speaking the view of Shams-é-Qays appears to be more correct. According to him the Yā in مکسور معروف is 'original' whereas in the مکسور مجهول it is an 'inversion' of Alif, and that is why it rhymes with Arabic words which undergo Imala. He says as quoted above:—

"بهیچ حال میان مکسور مجهول در قوافی جمع نشاید کرد از بهر
انکه یا در مکسور معروف اصلی است و در مکسور مجهول منقلب است
از الف و از این جهت آنرا با کلمات ممالهٔ عربی ایراد توان کرد"

The fact is that the Majhūl sound represents the aê of zend and the ê sound of Sanscrit, and as such, it is quite distinct and different from the Ma'rūf sound.

2. *The Principal Varieties of Yā-é-Majhūl.*

As mentioned above, there are two Yā's in Persian: the Yā-é-Ma'rūf and the Yā-é-Majhūl. The former has six or seven varieties :—

(1). یای مخاطب حاضر—which indicates second person singular *e.g.* گفتی - کردی ;

(2). یای مصدر — which is the Yā of the verbal noun forming abstract nouns, such as درویشی تونگیری etc.
(مشک ریختن =) مشک ریزی ; (گل ریختن =) گلریزی

(3). یای فاعلی which shows 'agency', e.g. جنگی warrior;

(4). یای مفعولی "The Yā of the object, expressing a thing taking effect, or the person being affected, by some act, as سنذی 'established by some authority', لعنتی 'cursed';

(5). یای نسبتی of relation *e.g.* هندی Indian ; فارسی : Persian;

(6). یای لیاقت which expresses "fitness" *e.g.* کشتنی : 'deserving of being killed';

(7). یای متکلم which expresses (in Arabic) the pronoun of the first person singular as ربّی 'my lord'; قبله گاهی etc.

The *Yā-é-Majhūl* also is of several kinds :—

(1). یای استمراری which shows "continued or repeated action, affixed to the preterite of verbs, to convey the idea of perpetuity or frequent occurence as زید هر روز نزد من آمدی = "Zaid used to visit or kept visiting me daily.";

(2). یای تنکیر which shows "any" or 'an uncertain' individual *e.g.* as سپهر says :—

گرگی در گله افتاد و مردی بشهر آمد یعنی گرگ غیر معلوم و مرد غیر معین

(3). یای وحدت which shows a "certain" individual *e.g.* ; یک مرد - یک گرگ = مردی - گرگی

(4). یای تعظیم when the مخاطب is غایب e.g. ; چه بزرگ مردی بود (when the مخاطب is حاضر it would be معروف);

(5). یای زاید (*a*) used for زینت کلام *e.g.* چنین کرد می = چنین کردم ;

(*b*) the Yā which comes after ست *e.g.* as Sa'di says:—

اگر گل را نظر بودی چون نرگس تا جهان بیند
ز شرم رنگ رخسارش چو نیلوفر در آبستی

(6). یای تعجب when the مخاطب is غایب (otherwise it would be معروف) e.g. فلان مرد بدی است i.e. چه مرد بد ;

(7). Other varieties are یای مقدار ; یای تحقیر etc.

When a word followed by یای تعظیم or , یای وحدت , یای تنکیر is affected by اضافت or used as an adjective, the یای مضاف and the یای موصوف should be dropped. Thus it is wrong to say مردی پردلی it should be either مردی پر دل or مرد پردلی.

3. *A List of useful words containing the Yā-é-Majhūl.*

There are many Persian words which contain the Yā-é-Majhūl. A few of them, which we generally come across in reading classical literature, are given below:—

بلی and آری are still pronounced by the Persians with a Majhūl sound.

The following words are generally used as rhymes with Imalated Arabic words:—

باری used for انحصار و تقلیل like القصه بهر حال ;

بی without

دریی a patch on a garment

نی no ; not ;

فربی stout

کسنی succory ; مانی Manes, the name of the Painter ;

مری contention ; می used for زینت کلام ; نبی and نوی the Quran

هری Herat ; همی same as می ;

Illustrations :—

انوری :— صبا بسبزه بیاراست دار دینی را
نمونه گشت جهان مرغزار عقبی را
.....
حرارت سخطت با گران رکابی د سنگ
ذبول کاه دهد کوههای فربی را
خدای عز و جل گوئی از طریق مزاج
باعتدال هوا داد جان مانی را
روایح کومت باستیزه روئی طبع
خواص نیشکر آرد مزاج کسنی را

ظهیر :— سفر گزیدم و بشکست عهد قربی را
مگر بحیله به بینم جمال سلمی را
اگرچه طائفهٔ پیش من درین دعوی
بریشخند برون میبرند آری را

ناصر خسرو :— چه چیز بهتر و نیکوتر است در دنیی
سپاه نبی ملکی نی ضیاع نی رمه نی
نگاه کن که بدین حرفها چگونه خبر
بجان زبد رسند زبان عمر و همی
همیت گوید هر یک که کار خویش بکن
اگرت چشم درست است درنگر بامی

سپهر :— سخن چو راند شود تیر جسته است از شست
بتیر جسته کنون چون کنم که چاره نمی
توان وی تو تن آسان بجای در منشین
بجای آن نرسند کان بجای بنشستی

Words ending in ب

آسیب : trouble ; آریب : crooked ; پاشیب : round of a ladder ; فریب : deceit ; زیب : elegance ; سراشیب : declivity ; سیب : apple ; شکیب : patience ; تیب : astonished ; confounded ; شیب : has several shades of meaning : declivity ; whip-lash end ; wet ground made uneven by rain ; hasty ; arrow-whizz, etc.

کیب : bend ; نشیب : low ; declivity ; نهیب—fear ; وریب same as آریب -

The Arabic words which are generally made to rhyme under اعاله with these Persian words are کتاب - حساب - رکاب - شعیب - جلباب - عتاب - حجاب etc.

فردوسی :— بدرد پی و پوستشان از نهیب -
عنان راندانند و پا از رکیب

نظامی :— صنعت من برده ز جادو شکیب -
شعر من افسون ملائک فریب -

سعدی :— رفتی و صد هزار دل دوست در رکیب -
ای جان اهل دل که تواند ز تو شکیب

In this ode Sa'di uses the following rhymes :—

زیب - سیب - دلفریب - کتیب - عتیب -

Words ending in ت

With Yā é Ma'rūf.— چیست - (20) بیست - شنبلیت - گزیت
etc. تریت - گویست - زیست - کیست

With Yā é Majhūl :— شبیخت - آویخت - آهیخت - آمیخت -
(scattered) دژهیخت - (Jerusalem)
(Ignorance) سویست - ریخت - بیخت - انگیخت -
(stand) ایست - نیست - (blow) گویست
فریفت - شگیفت - (200) دویست

فردوسی :— اگر سال گردد هزار و دویست -
بجز خاک تیره ترا جای نیست

مولوی :— گفت دارم از درم نقره دویست -
نک به بسته سخت بر گوشه ردی است

سعدی :— اگر تو هزاری و دشمن دویست -
چو شب شد در اقلیم دشمن مایست

همی and نی (negative) have یای مجهول and therefore when joined to ایست rhyme with ایست - دویست . For the same reason Imalated Arabic words rhyme with them.

انوری :— برترین پایه مرد را عقل است
بهترین مایه مرد را تقوی است
بر جمادات فضل آدمیان .
هیچ بیرون ازین دو معنی نیست
چون ازین هر دو مرد خالی گشت
آدمی و بهیمه هر دو یکی است

Words ending in چ

Ma'rūf:— زیچ - تیچ - کابلیچ - زانیچ - آغشیچ - بازنیچ (رنج و محنت=) سیچ

Majhūl:— بسیچ readiness; desire; ویچ (ivy) - خیچ - پیچ - هیچ - ایچ (plough share) - سیچ (order) - گیچ (distracted) - کهیچ (a fort in Seistan).

فردوسی :— نمانیم تا رام گیرند هیچ سواران ما با سپاه کهیچ
چراغیست مر تیره شب را پسیچ - به بد تا توانی تو هرگز مهیچ

رومی :— ما که ایم اندر جهان پیچ پیچ - چون الف کو خود ندارد هیچ هیچ

Words ending in د (= ذ)

Ma'rūf:— گزید - تریذ - مروارید - شنبلید - کلید - پلید - آرمید - شنید - کشید - رسید etc.;

Majhūl:— سپید - نوید - جاوید - ناهید - جمشید - شید - کوید (Cauldron) - خورشید - بید (bright) - Imperatives like بشنوید - کنید etc.

فردوسی :— سپه گشت رخشان چو روز سپید -
گسستند پیوند با جمشید
بایرانیان گفت بیدار بید -
که من کردم آهنگ دیو سپید

مولوی :—ای اسیران سوی میدانگه روید -
کز شهنشه دیدن جود است امید
پیش کافر را بخواری منگرید -
که مسلمان مرد نش باشد امید

Words ending in ر

Ma'rūf:— شیر - گیر - میر - تیر - پیر - سیر (garlic) - شیر (Milk)
Majhūl:— آزیر (greedy) پریر (day before yesterday)-
- کویر - شمشیر - دیر - زیر - دلیر
سیر (satiated: also the weight or measure)-
شیر (lion) - چیر (dominant).

فردوسی :— پری و پلنگ انجمن کرد و شیر -
ز درندگان گرگ و بر دلیر
سعدی :— ملک را بود بر عدو دست چیر -
چو لشکر دل آسوده بشند و سیر

Words ending in ز

Ma'rūf:— نیز - مویز - کنیز - کشنیز - پشیز - گریز - خرخیز - پالیز - چیز - دهلیز
Majhūl:— آبریز (a bath vessel; drain; privy, etc.)
انگیز - شبدیز - آویز - آمیز - پرهیز - پرویز - ستیز - تبریز - تیز - اسپریز - رستاخیز - ریز - خیز -

فردوسی :—بدژخیم فرمود تا تیغ تیز -
بگیرد کند مرد را ریز ریز
بر انگیخت از جای شبدیز را
تن و جان بیارامت آویز را
نظامی :—از آن شد نام آن شهزاده پرویز -
که بودی بر همه دلها دلاویز
انوری :— کی بود کین سپهر حادثه زای،
همه از یکدگر فرو ریزد
تا چه پرویز نست او که مُدام
بر جهان آتش بلا بیزد

سعدی :—عزیزی در اقصای تبریز بود -
که همواره بیدار و شب خیز بود

ایضا :— پیوند روح می کند این باد مشکبیز -
نزدیک نوبت سحر است ای ندیم خیز
شاهد بخوان و شمع برافروز و می بده
عنبر بسای و عود بسوزان و گل بریز
گر دوست دست میدهدت هیچ گو مباش -
خوشتر بود عروس نکو روی بی جهیز
من دروفا و عهد چنان کند نیسم -
کز دامن تو دست ندارم زتیغ تیز
لیکن بدست خویشتنم کش که گفته اند -
از دوستان تحمل و از دشمنان ستیز
گر تیغ می زنی سپر انیک و جود من -
عیار مدعی کند از کشتن احتیریز
فردا که سر زخاک برآرم اگر ترا -
بینم فراغتم بود از روز رستخیز
تا خود کجا رسد بقیامت نماز من -
من روی در تو و همه کس روی در جهیز
سعدی بدام عشق تو در پای بند ماند -
قیدی نکرده که میسر شود گریز

امیر خسرو دهلوی :—هوا بر سرت زد بر نه مخیز -
سرت شد بباد آبرو گو بریز

Words ending in ژ

Majhūl:— ریژ (desire) - ویژ (special) -

Words ending in س

Ma'rūf:— نویس - فرنگیس - برجیس - سائیس - بادریس - ریس (خشم =) - ریس (اسپ تند =) سیس - etc.

Majhūl:— لیس - دیس - (غفلت =) شویس - اسپریس - (مبالغه در معامله =) مکیس - (یرک =) اریس

فردوسی :—خوش آید ترا از گدایان مکیس -
که در بذل هستی تو بی شبه و دیس
نشانه نهادند بر اسپریس -
سیاوش نکرد ایچ باکس مکیس

Words ending in ش

Ma'rūf :— ریش (beard) etc. - کویش - خشیش - کاویش
بیش (poison) - etc.

Majhūl :— آدیش (fire) - کیش (law; religion) - نردیش (quarr
(woun ریش - بیش - بیش - خویش - میش
خلال =) دندان فریش - (کد با نو =) خدیش - نیش
etc درویش

انوری :— ای تو نگر ز تو بسیط زمین
و زنظیر تو آسمان درویش
بیتو رفتست اگر نه در زنبور
در نی نوش کی نشستی نیش
جان تو دادهٔ جهانی را
فرق نا کرده اهل مذهب و کیش
این نه خلق است نور خورشیداست
که به بیگانه آن رسد که بخویش
شاد باش ای بمعجزات کرم
مریمی از هزار عیسی بیش
تا نگوئی که شعر مختصر است
مختصر نیست چون توئی معنیش
بخدای ار کس این قوافی را
بسخن بر نشاندی بسریش

Words ending in غ

Majhūl :— آریغ - (hostility) - آمیغ - میغ - ستیغ -
- (عداوت =) زیغ - (کینه =) ریغ - تیغ - دریغ
فردوسی :— زگرد سواران هوا بست میغ
چو برق درخشنده فولاد تیغ

Words ending in ک and گ

Ma'rūf:— منجیک - تاجیک - تاریک - پالیک - باریک - کیک - شبک - سیک - ژیک - جیک - (زیچ =) زیگ

Majhūl:— دیگ - ریگ - ویک - نیک etc.

سنائی:— چون بعلت کند سلام و علیک
از بد و نیک تو شود بد و نیک

مولوی:— توقیاس از خویش می گیری و لیک
دور دور افتادهٔ تو نیک نیک

سعدی:— غم و شادمانی نماند و لیک
جزائی عمل ماند و نام نیک

ایضا:— فرو برده سر کا روانی بدیگ
چو از پا فرو ماند گا نش بریگ

Words ending in ل

Ma'rūf — نیل - پیل - کیل etc. - زنبیل - شلیل - آغیل

Majhūl:— گیل - اردبیل - بیل - etc.

فردوسی:— سپاهی که از بردع و اردبیل
بیامد بفرمود تا خیل خیل
همی راند از نسان که در کوه سیل
بآمل گذشت از در اردبیل

سعدی:— یکی بهنین پنجه در اردبیل
همی بگذ رانید پیکان زبیل

Words ending in و

Majhūl:— کالیو (distracted) - دیو - خدیو - پرمیو - (نقاب و برقع) زریو - فلیو (foolish) - گیو (the hero) - غیو = غریو (noise) - شیو (bow) - ریو - نیو (brave) -

فردوسی :— سپهدار کاوی برزد غریو
بمیدان در آمد بمانند دیو
چه طوس و چه گودرز و گشواد و گیو -
چه خرد گرگین و شاپور نیو
سعدی :— شنید این سخن بخت برگشته دیو -
بزاری بر آورد بانگ غریو

Words ending in ی

Ma'rūf:— کاشی - داوری - تاری - یاری - یاری - (آسیتن=) آستی - آزادی - لامانی (انگشتری - to use the word without ی, as in the sense of 'ring,' is said to be wrong) انگشتر etc. فرهی - زی - کُستی - دری - پری - ستی

Majhūl:— کاشئے - نبی=نبی (without) - نوی = نپی (the Quran) - فربی - در پی - باری - بلی - آری - (گریبان=) گری - همی and می - هِری (Herat)
(حضومت و برابری) مری - مانی (the Painter)

INTERPRETATION OF WORDS IN RGVEDA

By V. K. Rajawade

पुरन्धि

This word is found used 46 times and seems to have four or five senses. Yāska in interpreting

ताँ अध्वर उशतो यक्ष्यग्ने श्रुष्टी भगं नासत्या पुरन्धिम् (७।३९।४)

asks who or what पुरन्धि is. It may qualify भग, he says, though separated by नासत्या, or it may mean Indra as he performed many (पुरु) deeds (धी,) or as he tore (धी) the three cities (पुर) of the Asuras. I think पुरन्धि is an independent deity. She is mentioned along with other male and female deites in:—

देवो भगः सविता रायो अंश इन्द्रो वृत्रस्य संजितो धनानाम् ।
ऋभुक्षा वाज उत वा पुरन्धिरवन्तु नो अमृतास्तुरासः (५।४२।५) ॥
प्रोतये वरुणं मित्रमिन्द्रं मरुतः कृण्वावसे नो अद्य ।
पूषणं विष्णुमग्निं पुरन्धिं सवितारमोषधीः पर्वतांश्च (६।२१।९) ॥
तन्नो ऽहिर्बुध्न्यो अद्भिरर्कैस्तत्पर्वतस्तत्सविता चनो धात् ।
तदोषधीभिरभि रातिषाचो भगः पुरन्धिर्जिन्वतु प्र राये (६।४९।१४) ॥
शं नो भगः शमु नः शंसो अस्तु शं नः पुरन्धिः शमु सन्तु रायः ।
शं नः सत्यस्य सुयमस्य शंसः शं नो अर्यमा पुरुजातो अस्तु (७।३५।२) ॥
भगं धियं वाजयन्तः पुरन्धिम् (२।३८।१०) ।
प्र वो वायुं रथयुजं पुरन्धिं स्तोमैः कृणुध्वं सख्याय पूषणम् (१०।६४।७) ।
प्र (कृणुध्वं) पूषणं० । भगं धियोऽवितारं० वाजं रातिषाचं पुरन्धिम् (७।३६।८) ॥

From these quotations it is clear that पुरन्धि is a goddess distinct and different from the other gods and goddesses. It is very strange that among these major and minor deities उषस् should be conspicuously absent. She is too important to be passed over in any assemblage of gods. May not पुरन्धि be उषस्? She is actually called पुरन्धि in

उषो० स्तोमं जुषस्व० ।
पुराणी देवि युवतिः पुरन्धिरनु व्रतं चरसि विश्ववारे (३।६१।१) ॥
यक्षि देवान्रत्नधेयाय विश्वान् (७।९।५)
यक्षि राये पुरन्धिम् (७।९।६)

Agni is requested to sacrifice to the gods for gifts of jewels and to पुरन्धि for riches. Agni is intimately connected with the Dawn who is named here पुरन्धि.

उदीरतां सूनृता उत्पुरन्धीरुदग्नयः शुशुचानासो अस्थुः (१।१२३।६)।

Agni, we know, is called उषर्बुधः (१।१४।९ etc) one who is wakened by the Dawn or one who wakes up at Dawn. In this Ṛk the पुरन्धिs, swift or dancing, rise and the fires shining bright rise (also). सूनृता is a frequent epithet of the Dawn. पुरन्धिs therefore are Dawns.

पुरन्धि is often mentioned along with the Aświns whom she calls up to give up sleep or perhaps to follow her in her march.

अथा युवामिदंह्वयत्पुरन्धिः (१।११७।१९)।

अजोहवीन्नासत्या करा वां मध्वे यामन्पुरुभुजा पुरन्धिः (१।११६।१३)।

They approach her with food after yoking their horses:— उप स्वधाभिः सृजथः पुरन्धिम् (१।१८२।६).

They awaken her, with a heart full of love:—

जिगृतमस्मे रेवतीः पुरन्धीः कामप्रेणेव मनसा चरन्ता (१।११५८।२)

उत्पुरन्धीरीरयतम् (१०।३९।२)

Wake up the पुरन्धिs, oh Aświns.

जिगृतं पुरन्धीः (४।५०।११)

Here Indra and Bṛhaspati wake her up. Several gods are requested to drive a particular chariot towards the devotee and among these are mentioned

पुरन्धिरश्विनावधा पती (२।३९।४).

Why should the Aswins be called पती? Was there ever a marital relation between them and पुरन्धि?

वायु also is asked to wake up पुरन्धि:—

प्र बोधया पुरन्धिं जार आ ससतीमिव।

प्र चक्षय रोदसी वासयोषस: श्रवसे वासयोषसः (१।१३४।३)॥

Wake up (oh वायु) पुरन्धि as a lover wakes up a sleeping beauty; brighten up heaven and earth and reinstate the Dawns for (sacrificial) food.

By waking up पुरन्धि the reign of the Dawns will be ensured.

तरणिरित्सिषासति वाजं पुरन्ध्या युजा (७।३२।२०)

Indra (तरणिः) gives wealth accompanied by पुरन्धि.

अस्माकमिन्द्रेहि नो रथमवा पुरन्ध्या (५।३५।८)।

Come, oh Indra, and protect this chariot of ours with (the help of) पुरन्धि.

पुरन्धि appears to be a powerful goddess and assists Indra and other gods in their work.

त्वं विधर्तः सचसे पुरन्ध्या (२।१।३)

Thou, oh Agni, upholder (of the Universe), servest (the world) with पुरन्धि.

विश्वे देवासः शृणवन्वचांसि मे सरस्वती सह धीभिः पुरन्ध्या (१०।६५।१३)

विश्वेदेवाः सह धीभिः पुरन्ध्या०। ० ब्रह्म सूक्तं जुषेरत (१०।६५।१४)

The All-gods in company with सरस्वती, धीs and पुरन्धि are requested to hear the prayers.

अजीजनो हि पवमान सूर्यं विधारे शक्मना पयः।

गोजीरया रंहमाणः पुरन्ध्या (९।११०।२)॥

Sôma (as Indra) produced by his power the Sun in the propless sky, while wandering with पुरन्धि who drives on cows.

Driving on cows is a special function of the Dawn. I am not able to construe पयः.

इन्द्रमा विश बृहता रवेण वर्धया वाचं जनया पुरन्धिम् (९।९७।३६)

Sôma is to enter Indra, to wake up speech (in him) with a loud tone, and create (stir up from sleep) पुरन्धि.

रथिरायतामुशती पुरन्धिरस्मध्रुचे गा दावने वसूनाम् (९।९३।४)

May पुरन्धि loving (us) turn towards us in the distribution of warrior-loving wealth.

पुरन्धि not only assists other gods; she acts at times independently as in the above distribution.

भगो अर्यमा सविता पुरन्धिर्मह्यं त्वादुर्गार्हपत्याय देवाः (१०।८५।३६)

Says the bridegroom to the bride:—

The gods भग, अर्यमन्, सवितृ and पुरन्धि have given thee to me for domestic purposes. Here she assists in wedlock.

In all these पुरन्धि is a goddess who at one time was the same as the Dawn; but in course of time the word lost that sense.

The word also means a wife as in:—

युवं नरा स्तुवते पज्रियाय कक्षीवते अरदतं पुरन्धिम् (१।११६।७)

The Aśvins fashioned a wife for कक्षीवत्.

अग्निर्नारीं वीरकुक्षिं पुरन्धिम् (१०।८०।१)

Agni gives a woman who has heroes in her womb as a wife.

युवं सुषुतिं चक्रथुः पुरन्धये (१०।३९।७)

You (Oh Aśvins) made excellent extraction of Sôma for पुरन्धि or easy delivery for her. Was पुरन्धि an ordinary wife or was she the Dawn who waked them up?

In the अश्वमेध sacrifice पुरन्धिर्योषा is a part of the blessing pronounced.

आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणस्तेजस्वी ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामा राष्ट्रे राजन्यः शूर इषव्यो महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्री धेनुर्वोढानड्वानाशुः सप्तिः सभेयो युवा पुरन्धिर्योषा जिष्णू रथेष्ठा आस्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलवतीर्न ओषधयः पच्यन्तां योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम् (मैत्रा. सं. ३।१२।६ ; compare also तै. स. ७।५।१८).

पुरन्धिर्योषेत्याह । योषित्येव रूपं दधाति (तै. ब्रा. ३।८।११३). Sāyaṇa accordingly interprets पुरन्धि as रूपवती. पुरं सर्वगुणसंपन्नं शरीरं धारयति इति पुरन्धिः (तै. ब्रा. भाष्यं ३।८।११३) or पुरवासिभिर्ध्यायत इति पुरन्धिः (तै. सं. भाष्यं ७।५।१८). The same Sāyaṇa offers these two different interpretations. What would be most desirable or is still desired in India in a wife? Beauty is a rarity and cannot be had for the asking. Prolificity was and is more largely desired. In those troubled times warrior-sons were wanted to defend the households, the tribe and the village. You find that desire expressed so repeatedly in the Rgveda. Why may not पुरन्धि mean a mother of many sons? पुरून् बहून् पुत्रान् धत्तेऽसौ पुरन्धिः This interpretation would be more in accord with facts than that of beauty or popularity. You do not require a popular woman for a wife but a prolific one. In this connection I may offer a conjecture. In Greek we have the word poly-andros which in that language is sometimes the epithet

of a certain goddess, perhaps Eos or Ushas. It means many-married *i.e.* having many husbands or many sons. In pre-historic India and pre-historic Greece polyandry was not quite the disgrace that it is now. In the case of द्रौपदी it was quite consistent with chastity. So पुरन्धि might have in course of time come to mean a chaste wife. The question कति ते जाराः put to a wife in the चातुर्मास्य sacrifice shows that chastity was not general in India in old days. She was bound to mention her lovers that they might be duly cursed to death; great otherwise was the danger of concealment. A chaste wife must have been a boon. But a much greater boon was a prolific wife—a mother of heroes. पुरन्धि in my opinion was originally पुर्वन्द्रिः (पुरु+आन्द्रिः) or पुरन्ध्री as in classical Sanskrit. पुरन्ध्रीणां चेतः कुसुमसुकुमारं हि भवति and rightly; for repeated child-bearing and the consequent incessant care in rearing children must soften the heart which becomes tender like a flower. The classical पुरन्ध्रि was really a return to the pre-Rgvedic form found in Greek.

It was such a wife that the Aśvins gave to कक्षीवत् (१।११६।७) or Agni gives to the devotee (१०।८०।१). And among plenteous riches ready for distribution a loving wife (उशती पुरन्धिः) would certainly be welcome.

इषुध्यवं ऋतसापः पुरंन्धीर्वस्वीर्नो अत्र पत्नीरा धिये धुः (५।४१।६)

The Maruts armed with quivers and loving sacrifices gave us in this sacrifice excellent (वस्वीः) prolific (पुरन्धीः) wives.

अस्मभ्यं विश्वा इषणः पुरंन्धीः (४।२२।१०)

Send us, oh Indra, all prolific wives.

जिगृतमस्मे रेवतीः पुरंन्धीः (१।१५८।२)

जिगृतं पुरंन्धीः (४।५०।११)

Rich wives are desired here.

विश्वा अविष्टं वाज आ पुरंन्धीः (७।६७।५)

The Aśvins should save or protect all wives in the (confusion of) battle (वाजे). As they were tribal battles, wives must have been present in the rear,

पुरन्धिर्वान्मनुषो यज्ञसाधनः शुचिर्धिया पवते सोम इन्द्र ते (९।७२।४)

The gods had wives like men and so Sôma having prayer for his wife (पुरन्धिवान्) is being clarified for Indra.

धिया वो मेधसातये पुरन्ध्या विवासति (८।६९।१)

Sôma with his wife viz. prayer would serve you, oh men, in the sacrifice.

स नो वृषन्त्सनिष्ठया सं घोरया द्रविन्व्या ।
धियावसो पुरन्ध्या (८।९२।१५)

Protect us, O rain-god Indra (वृषन्), in company with prayer thy wife, who is so generous (सनिष्ठया), so cruel (if rejected), and rich (द्रविन्व्या).

So Indra (५।३५।८ and ७।३२।२०), accompanied by पुरन्धि, guards the chariot and gives wealth.

देवस्य सवितुर्वयं वाजयन्तः पुरन्ध्या ।
भगस्य रातिमीमहे (३।६२।११)

Desirous of riches, we beg a gift of Bhaga i.e. of the divine Sun accompanied by पुरन्धि.

I have forced perhaps several Rks. into my view; but the following resist being so forced, two of them absolutely, for the gender there is emphatically masculine.

आदाय श्येनो अभरत्सोमं सहस्रं सवाँ अयुतं च साकम् ।
अत्रा पुरन्धिरजहादरातीर्मदे सोमस्य मूरा अमूरः (४।२६।७) ॥

The adjective अमूरः clearly shows that पुरन्धि is masculine, as शूशुवानः in the following:—

न घा स मामप जोषं जभाराभीमासु त्वक्षसा वीर्येण ।
ईमा पुरन्धिरजहादरातीरुत वातो अतरच्छूशुवान (४।२७।२) ॥

Who is this पुरन्धि? I think it is the hawk that brought Sôma down from above where it lay enclosed within iron towns. Says Sôma:—

शतं मा पुर आयसीररक्षन् (४।२७।१)

A hundred iron towns or forts guarded me. The hawk flew up to take me out. He could not carry me away without effort. (४।२७।२) I resisted him hard; the quick one left behind his

enemies and increasing in speed flew over the winds. (४।२६।६)

says:— the quick, clever पुरन्धि, under the excitement of Sôma, left behind his dull-pated (मूराः) foes. The hawk is called पुरन्धि because of his tearing up the hundred iron forts.

एह यच्छ्येनो अस्वनीदध द्यो र्वि यदि वात ऋहुः पुरन्धिम् (४।२७।३)

When the hawk made a sound in its downward flight from द्यौ or rather when (the guards) expelled पुरन्धि from there.

सं वो मदा अग्मत सं पुरन्धिः (४।३४।२)

इदा हि वो धिषणा देव्यन्हामघोत्पीतिं सं मदा अग्मता वः (४।३४।१)

The wise goddess of days—most probably the Dawn—gave you drink (like another Hebe), and then intoxication overcame you, O Ṛbhus (४।३४।१). This seems to be repeated in ४।३४।२:— Intoxication overcame you; so did पुरन्धि. She (like another Hebe) in presenting you the cup charmed you completely and Sôma completed the work.

Here पुरन्धि cannot be the hawk who merely fetched Sôma from द्यौ at great personal risk. पुरन्धि must be a woman. Was she the Dawn?

यस्य शश्वत्पपिवाँ इन्द्र शत्रूननानुकृत्या रण्या चकर्थ ।
स ते पुरन्धि तविषीमियर्ति स ते मदाय सुत इन्द्र सोमः (१०।११२।५)

The Sôma, by the drinking of which continuously you did to death your enemies in inimitable valour, O Indra, rouses your पुरन्धि strength; the same has been extracted for your intoxication. What is पुरन्धि here? The hawk is said to be Indra himself; Indra is credited with the break-up of iron-forts. पुरन्धि तविषी would mean physical strength that breaks up forts.

इन्द्रमा विश बृहता रवेण वर्धया वाचं जनया पुरन्धिम् (७।९९।३६)

Oh Sôma! enter Indra with a big roar, increase his voice and create in him fort-breaking (पुरन्धि) strength.

This may be the true sense and not the one given above.

युवां पूषेवाश्विना पुरन्धिरग्निमुषा न जरते हविष्मान् (१।१८१।९)

Here पूषेव and उषा are stumbling blocks. The construction is:— (हे) अश्विना हविष्मान् युवां जरते । कथम् । पुरन्धिः उषा अग्निं न । पूषेव च ।

उषां seems to be a misreading.

The sacrificer worships you, oh Asvins, like पूषन्, or as the Dawn, goddess of prolificity (पुरन्धिः), worships Agni.

स घा नो योग आ भुवत्स राये स पुरंन्ध्याम् ।
गमद्वाजेभिरा स नः (१।५।३)

May Indra find (आभुवत्) us in prosperity (योगे), in riches (राये), in पुरन्धि; may he approach us with treasure.

Here पुरन्धि must mean riches.

Parendi in Avesta is a female angel; she is the companion of Ashi Vanghuhi (1) and presides over riches; she is also guardian of hidden treasures. (2) riches, treasure. (3) a constellation like the Pleiades.

पुरंन्धि the goddess may have been associated with treasure or riches and so came to mean riches. There is nothing in the formation of the word that suggests the idea of wealth.

जिगृतमस्मे रेवतीः पुरंन्धीः (१।१५८।२),
जिगृतं पुरंन्धीः (४।५०।११),
अस्मभ्यं विश्वा इषणः पुरंन्धीः (४।२२।११),
विश्वा अविष्टं वाज आ पुरंन्धीः (७।६७।५),
अस्माकमिन्द्रेहि नो रथमवा पुरंन्ध्या (५।३५।८),
त्वं विधर्तः सचसे पुरंन्ध्या (२।१।३).

In all these extracts पुरन्धि as wealth would make better sense and not as the consort of the various gods.

The combination धिया पुरन्ध्या (८।६९।१, ८।९२।१५), धीभिः पुरन्ध्या (१०।६५।१३ and १४), पुरन्धिवान् धिया (९।७२।४), and धियः पुरन्धीः (४।५०।११, १०।३९।२) does not seem to favour the meaning I have given. Both धी and पुरन्धि perhaps mean riches.

उरुगव्यूतिरभयानि कृण्वन्त्समीचीने आ पवस्वा पुरंन्धी (९।९७।१४)

Sôma of long strides (उरुगव्यूतिः like the Sun) and assuring security (everywhere as he goes along) is requested to clarify himself between (आ) the two even पुरन्धिs. Are they the two slabs which press out Sôma? They are metaphorically perhaps called पुरन्धि.

Notwithstanding the different interpretation that has forced itself upon me in this concluding portion, I still maintain that पुरन्धि originally meant a prolific woman, that it came to be the name of a goddess who presides over prolificity, that she and the Dawn were once identical, that for some unaccountable reason the two came to be distinct, that पुरन्धि was somehow associated with treasure over which she presided, that she came to mean treasure, and that the original word must have been पुर्वन्द्रि (poly-andros). पुरन्धि as a hawk is a different word altogether; it must have been originally पुरंद्रि (one who tears up forts—an exploit ascribed to Indra).

This particular word has convinced me that all such interpretations must be tentative. Most words in Rgveda must be so discussed. Then and then alone is there some hope of an approach to correct meaning. It is the cumulative view that will give to each word its real signification. At present a piece-meal discussion is alone possible.

In discussing सस्नि in the first number of the Annals I said the word was derived from स्ना. But recently I have been studying the uses of सन् which is one of the most frequently used words in Rgveda and am inclined to trace सस्नि to that root. It is like जाम्नि which is derived from हन्. सन् means to give; सस्नि would mean generous, capable of giving, and then capable without any idea of giving, powerful in fact.

समना

This word seems to be like देसना, मंहना etc. and may have come from a lost root सम्. Like them it is indeclinable, though a noun. It is both singular and plural, masculine and feminine. The Greek word 'homeunos (from homos=same and eune=a bed)=a partner of the bed, a spouse, may throw some light on this word. Eng. and Old Norse 'same;' Old High German 'sama'.

It is often an epithet of women and specially of the Dawn. It may be the same as योषा.

एषा दिवो दुहिता प्रत्यदर्शि ज्योतिर्वसाना समना पुरस्तात्. (१।१२४।२)

Here is seen in front the wife (समना), the Dawn, the daughter of दिव्, clad in light. Or एषा समना this same Dawn.

(उषसः) ता आ चरन्ति समना पुरस्तात्समानतः समना पप्रथानाः (४।५१।८)

The wives (समना) move on in front, the wives broadening towards their husband (समानतः). Homeunos=a husband, a wife. Or समना=same; समानतः=equally.

ता इन्वेव समना समानीरमीतवर्णा उषसश्चरन्ति (४।५१।९)

Those very same (समानीः) wives (समना), the Dawns, of incalculable colour, move on. एत् नु एव all these words mean the same thing viz. same. समानीः and समना=same or wives.

(हे मरुतः) यज्ञायज्ञा वः समना वतुर्णिर्धियंधियं वो देवया उ दधिध्वे (१।१६८।१)

You have the same (समना) swift prayer (तुतुर्वणिः?) in every sacrifice; going among the gods you hold or carry every prayer.

(हे इन्द्र) वि समना भूमिरप्रथिष्टारैत्तु पर्वतश्चित्स्रिष्यन् (२।११।७)

The same (समना) earth has become broad (owing to thee) and even the mountain, about to move, has halted (वि अरंस्त.)

तमिन्नवेव समना समानमभि क्रत्वा पुनती धीतिरश्याः (४।५।७)

May the same pure or holy prayer wholly occupy (अभि अश्याः) that very same (तमिन्नवेद समानं) Agni in the sacrifice (क्रत्वा).

अश्याः irregular for अश्यात्.

समना may mean here a wife, and

समानं a husband.

(हे अश्विनौ) इहेह यद्वां समना पप्रुक्षे सेयमस्मे सुमतिर्वाजरत्ना (४।४३।७)
वां युवयोः सा वाजरत्ना समना इयं सुमतिः यद् यदा इह इह अस्मे अस्मान् पप्रुक्षे पृणक्ति.
When that same (समना) well-known (सा), enriching (वाजरत्ना) or munificent, good-will (सुमतिः) of you two, touches or fills or blesses (पप्रुक्षे) us even here (इहेह).

एवा नो अद्य समना समानानुशन्नग्न उशतो यक्षि देवान् (६।४।१)
हे उशन् अग्ने समना त्वं नः उशतः समानान् देवान् अद्य एव यक्षि यज.
Agni is our well-wisher (उशन्), so also are the gods (उशतः). The same Agni is to serve (यक्षि) or worship the same gods. अद्य एव this very day.

(वरुणं) तमू षु समना गिरा पितॄणां च मन्मभिः (८।४१।१२)
तम् वरुणम् समना उ पितृणां गिरा मन्मभिः च सु स्तौमि
I praise that very (उ) same (समना) Varuna with the speech and prayers of ancestors i.e. with ancient, time-honoured prayers. Or समना 'same' may qualify गिरा and मन्मभिः

(इन्द्राय) तस्मा उ अद्य समना सुतं भर (८।६६।७)
Offer the Sôma juice (सुतं) to that very same (उ समना) Indra.

त्वे धेनुः सुदुघा जातवेदोऽसश्चतेव समना वर्धुक् (१०।६९।८)
To thee, Oh Agni, the same (समना) nectar-milking (सदुघा?) or nectar-yielding cow yields milk plenteously.

I cannot construe or interpret असश्चता इव.

(हे इन्द्र) सुमना तूर्णिरुपं यासि यज्ञम् (१०।७३।४)
Thou, the same quick one, attendest the sacrifice.

सहस्रधारः शतवाज इन्दुर्वाजी न सप्तिः समना जिगाति (९।९६।९)
The same (समना) Sôma (इन्दुः) in a thousand streams and possessed of immense riches (शतवाजः) goes about like a war-horse (वाजी सप्तिः)

बह्वीनां पिता बहुरस्य पुत्रश्चिश्चा कृणोति समनावगत्य।
इषुधिः सङ्काः पृतनाश्च सर्वाः पृष्ठे निनद्धो जयति प्रसूतः (६।७५।५)

The quiver is the father of many (arrows; इषु is feminine in Rgveda); many are his sons (इषु is also masculine). Knowing the same(समना)i.e.aware that he has numerous progeny, he utters joyous

cries. The quiver tied to the back when let off (प्रसूतः) i.e. when his contents are discharged conquers all armies and सङ्का: (सङ्का occurs here only). It must mean armies.

क्षमेदमुन्याद्दिव्य । न्यदस्तं सर्मा पृच्यते समनेव केतुः (१।१०३।१)

अस्य इन्द्रस्य इदं बलं क्षमा क्षमायां पृथिव्याम् अन्यत् दिवि अन्यत् इमं इदम् संपृच्यते वर्तते समना स एव केतुः इव.

His strength appears in a certain light on earth, and in a quite different light in the sky or heaven, like the same flag.

अभि प्रवन्त समनेव योषाः कल्याण्यः । स्मयमानासो अग्निम् ।

घृतस्य धाराः (४।५८।८)

यथा समना समानं पतिं कल्याण्यः स्मयमानाः योषाः अभि प्रवन्त संभजन्ते तथ घृतस्य धाराः अग्निम्

प्रवन्त seems to be a verbal form of प्र+वन्, but the पदपाठ does not treat प्र as an upasarga. Did the Padakāra think प्रु to be the root? What is the meaning of प्रु? Is it the same as पृ to fill or प्लु to fly?

As bliss-giving (कल्याण्यः), smiling women serve one and the same husband fervently or devotedly (अभि and प्र), so do trickling streams of ghee serve Agni.

ते आचरन्ती समनेव योषा मातेव पुत्रं बिभृतामुपस्थे ।

अप शत्रून्विध्यतां संविदाने इमे आर्त्नी इमे विष्फुरन्ती अमित्रान् (६।७५।४)

ते इमे आर्त्नी आचरन्ती गतिमत्यौ यथा योषाः समना समानं पतिं यथा वा माता पुत्रम् उपस्थे समीपे बिभर्ति तथा उपस्थे शरं बिभृताम्। संविदाने ऐकमत्यं गते विस्फुरन्त्यौ ते इमे आर्त्नी अमित्रान् शत्रून् अपविध्यताम्

May the two bow-ends (आर्त्नी) when active (आचरन्ती) or in motion bear the arrow as women bear the same husband on their person or as a mother bears or carries about a son. May they in accord (संविदाने) and throbbing with motion strike through and through hostile foes

Here समना seems to have the sense of the Greek word homeunos a husband.

समनेव वपुष्यतः कृणवन्मानुषा युगा ।

विदे तदिन्द्रश्चेतनमथ श्रुवं भूद्या इन्द्रस्य रातयः (८।६२।९) ॥

(इन्द्रः) मानुषाणि युगानि वपुष्यतः वपुष्याणि कृणवत् करोतु समनेव। तत् चेतनं ज्ञानम् इन्द्रः विदे वेत्ति। अथ अतः एव श्रुतः ख्यातः। इन्द्रस्य रातयः दानानि भद्रा भद्राणि.

May Indra fatten human generations. He knows that art (चेतनं), hence his fame. Blessed are Indra's gifts.

I do not understand समनेव. If इव be an expletive, then समना would mean the same (Indra).

ईळेन्यो वो मनुषो युगेषु समनगा अशुचज्जातवेदाः (७।९।४)

Agni who deserves to be praised by you and who is समनग in human generations, shone.

Here too समन has something to do with मानुषा युगा, but I cannot say what it means.

Except in the case of the last two Rks. I think समना may be taken to mean 'same' or a 'spouse.' I am not able to say anything about the last two.

In the following Rks I cannot say whether समन is a different word altogether or is connected with समना.

शश्वदग्निर्वैश्वश्वस्य शत्रून्नृभिर्जिगाय सुतसोमवद्भिः।
समनं चिददहश्चित्रभानोऽव व्राधन्तमभिनद्दर्षदित् (१०।६९।११)

Agni absolutely (शश्वत्) conquered the foes of वध्यश्व with the help of men who extract the Sôma juice (and offer it to him). O thou of wonderful light (चित्रभानो)! thou didst burn even समन (?) growing troublesome (व्राधन्त) and break enemies.

Is समन the name of an enemy or does it mean 'the same (Viz. those whom he had defeated)?

संहोत्रं स्म पुरा नारी समनं वावं गच्छति (१०।८६।१०)

Indrāṇī says:—In days bygone a woman went to her sacrificing (संहोत्रं) husband (समनं). वा=एव.

She was loyal to him whatever befell her.

सं प्रेरते अनु वात्स्य विष्टा ऐनं बच्छन्ति समनं न योषाः।
ताभिः सयुक्सरथं देव ईयतेऽस्य विश्वस्य भुवनस्य राजा (१०।१६८।२)

The wives (विष्टाः?) of the wind follow him in hot haste (अनु सं प्रेरते). They go to him as women do to their husband. In their

company (ताभिः संयुक्) he rides in the same chariot, he the king of the whole world. विष्टा occurs only here and is obscure.

वि या सृजति समनं व्यर्थिनः पदं न वेत्योदती (१।४८।६)

The lady (ओदती ?) Dawn who sends her husband (the sun) on his travelling duty and business-seekers on their several businesses knows no halt (पदं). (She too marches on).

प्र ते नावं न समने वचस्युवं ब्रह्मणा यामि सवनेषु दाधृषेः (२।१६।७)

दाधृषेः धृष्टः अहं सवनेषु वचस्युवं वचः स्तुतिम् इच्छन्तं त्वां ते ब्रह्मणा त्वद्योग्यया स्तुत्या समने नावमिव प्रयामि.

Boldly I approach thee desirous of prayers with a prayer fit for thee in the Sôma offerings as one approaches a boat in समन (?). Sâyaṇa takes समन to mean 'battle'.

वक्ष्यन्तीवेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णं प्रियं सखायं परिषस्वजाना ।
योषेव शिङ्क्ते वितताधि धन्वञ्या इयं समने पारयन्ती (६।७५।४)

इयं ज्या किमपि वक्ष्यन्ती वक्तुमिच्छन्ती इव प्रियं सखायं परिषस्वजाना कर्णम् आगनीगन्ति इत् । धन्वन् अधि धनुषि विततया इयं ज्या समने (?) पारयन्ती योषा इव शिङ्क्ते.

As if eager to whisper a secret and going to embrace her dear mate (प्रियं सखायं; the ear is the dear mate), the bowstring approaches the ear. Stretched on the bow and reaching both its ends (समने) the bowstring prates like a woman.

Does the poet mean that the bowstring has two husbands (समने)? Trying to please both she in the attempt cries, being tried hard? Or are the समने the companions of the bowstring?

विधुं दद्राणं समने बहूनां युवानं सन्तं पलितो जगार (१०।५५।५)

The whole Rk is obscure. विधुं occurs only here. पलित is an epithet of Agni and may mean ash-coloured. Agni swallowed विधु who was running (दद्राणं) and who besides was so very young, in the समन of many. Some young fellow taking to his heels was caught in a multitude and swallowed by Agni. I do not know what it means. समने बहूनां in a thick crowd?

आ यच्छः सदने पृथौ सम्नि पस्त्यो नरा (१०।१४३।४)

(That great deed of yours is well-known) when (यद्), oh Aświns नरा), you placed (आपर्षथः) us in a broad big house. समने seems to ualify सदने; but what does it mean? समने the same (old ancestral ouse)?

पूर्वी शिशुं न मातरा रिहाणे समग्रुवो न समनेष्वञ्जन् (७।२।५)

The sacrificers greased (समञ्जन्) Agni in समन like fingers, lick-ng him as two old (पूर्वी) cows lick a calf. (Sacrificers feed Agni vith streams of ghee). समन a sacrifice?

वसोनुः शर्म त्रिवरूथमप्सु होतेव याति समनेषु रेभन् (९।९७।४७)

Sôma wearing a cover of triple strength (त्रिवरूथं) goes among vaters uttering praises like the sacrificers in sacrifices (समनेषु). The Sôma-juice is placed in a strong vessel which is dipped in vater; while being dipped, it makes a certain sound.

व्युच्छन्ती रश्मिभिः सूर्यस्याञ्ज्यङ्क्ते समनगा इव व्राः (१।१२४।८)

The Dawn dawning (व्युच्छन्ती) lightens her ornaments (अञ्जि) vith sun-rays, as though they were clusters (व्राः). समनगाः is obscure.

समनगाः belonging to a sacrifice.

समनगा इव व्राः as they were clusters of flames in a sacrifice.

In some places समन seems preferably to mean 'same', in some husband' preferably; in a few instances the meaning is doubt-ful.

In three or four instances I do not know what it means. The sense suggested is in almost all cases some sort of guess.

THE PROJECTED ILLUSTRATED MAHĀBHĀRATA

Sir Richard Temple, Bt.

In Vol. III, Pt. I, of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Poona, for July 1921, but published in January 1922, there is a paper by the Chief of Aundh on the lines to be followed in drawing the pictures for the Institute's edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The Institute has been fortunate in securing a heavy Government subsidy, supplemented by a princely donation from the Chief himself, who is anxious that the money shall be properly spent, *i.e.*, that the illustrations shall reproduce the period of the actors in the story as accurately as may be. He has fairly and dispassionately stated his views as to the principles that should guide the artists employed. With these views, I may say at once, I heartily agree.

In ascertaining what these principles should be, the point that raises controversy is (to quote the Chief) the fact that "no caves or statues or carvings belonging to the epic period are available, nor is there any literary evidence which may unimpeachably be assigned to the epic period." To this I may add that it is not even yet definitely settled what was "the epic period." In the circumstances it is clear that all we can go upon is circumstantial evidence for such all-important points in pictorial representation as dress for man and beast, vehicles (animal or other) dwellings, processions, manners and customs, insignia and so on. And such circumstantial evidence as we have is based perforce on tradition, ancient or modern. The whole argument, therefore, rests on the value of tradition in such a matter as this or in allied matters.

In my judgment tradition is of very great value—especially if it can be traced back to a period when writing was unknown, or but sparsely used, or known only to a limited class. In such cases tradition is at least of equal value with written or inscribed documents, even if these can be shown to be contemporary. In literary matters it is not difficult to show that this is the case.

The circumstances in which Sir George Grierson and Dr. Lionel Barnett recovered the practically unwritten Kashmiri text of the *Lallā Vākyāni*, 600 years after the author's date, make a case in point. The unquestioned accuracy with which a *hāfiz* will repeat the Kurān, a Jew the Hebrew Scriptures, and many a Christian of the days gone by could repeat the Bible, and members of Brahmanical and Buddhist Schools appropriate portions of what I may call the Indian Scriptures, are other cases in point. Yet another illustration of the value of literary tradition is the fact that some thirty years ago the broken stones of the Kalyāni Inscriptions at Pegu were set up again, despite many lost gaps, with complete accuracy because the text recording the *upasampada* ceremony of ordination was of supreme importance to the Buddhist hierachy of Burma, and agreed word for word, even letter for letter, with the traditional written texts to be had in abundance in unvarying Mss.

The accuracy of pictorical representations of such ephemeral matters as the light and shade and the colouration of a landscape, of cloud effects and so on, are as much a matter of memory as the words of a text or the notes of a long musical work, and the fact that these can be, and are habitually, carried without error in certain types of brain is beyond cavil. In ancient sculpture and picture allowance must of course be made for want of knowledge in perspective and anatomy, but this does not detract from the accuracy of tradition in such matters—dress, vehicles, dwellings, collective movements and manners—as go to the correct reproduction of a scene enacted before the date of the ancient artist. I therefore submit that we can safely trust his productions as to such points as the above

As the Chief of Aundh says, we possess an ancient tradition of this kind in the sculptures and actual pictures at Sānchi-Bharut, Bhilsa, Ajanta, Ellora, Jeva, Amarāvati and so on, and not only do I agree that we are safe in using them as models for such a project as an illustrated *Mahābhārata*, but I have actually done so for illustrations of Indian History.

About 10 years or more ago I was asked to write the Persian, Indian and Further Indian sections of Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*. It was to be a brief popular history from the earliest to the most modern times and highly illustrated, *i. e.*, with at least one picture on every page, besides many full-page illustrations. Of the Indian section, to which I will now restrict myself, I controlled the illustrations as well as the letter-press. As the history had to be very brief and cover the whole story from the earliest to the most modern times, I had to leave out very many important incidents and matters I wished to include in the 25,000 words I was allowed for all India, ancient, mediæval and modern. I used the power of profuse illustration to make good deficiencies as far as possible. The illustrations thus became of paramount importance. Further, as the work was essentially "popular," more pictures containing "movement' than I wished had to be included. Lastly, I could command the services of English artists only, some of whom had never been in India and had, therefore, to be carefully taught and instructed.

For the ancient portion of the work I relied on the many books illustrated in facsimile, available nowadays, on ancient Indian sculptured remains, and to my mind I was justified in doing so. Roughly the procedure was to select the photographs or other mechanical reproductions I wanted for my scenes, carefully explain them to the artist, and tell him to draw his picture with modern perspective and anatomy. He did not always quite clearly apprehend, but for the purpose in hand, *viz*, pictures for the education of a public unlearned in things Indian, the artists, taken all round, seemed to me to succeed in recreating with reasonable accuracy Indian scenes of long ago. In the case of the proposed illustrated *Mahābhārata*, I do not see why the Chief of Aundh and his colleagues should not succeed in satisfying even a learned Indian public by following the same method which indeed I gather is what he proposes to do with this difference. My artists were English without expert Indian knowledge; he and his artists are expert Indians.

The ancient scenes depicted were as follows:—

PREHISTORIC INDIA.

1. p. 115 The dawn of life; building a home. Drawn from a description of Andamanese practice; the most primitive Oriental type known.
2. p. 116 The early morning of life; the daily bread. Taken from a photograph of primitive life in Bengal.
3. p. 117 The forenoon of life; Aryans entering India. Artist's own idea, accepted by myself.
4. p. 118 Aryans settled in India: open-air sacrifice. From description: artist had been long in India.

NORTH INDIA.

5. p. 119 Maya's Dream of the Birth of Gautama Siddhārtha, the Buddha B.C. 568. From a well known Buddhist sculptured scene.
6. p. 120 A hermit in times beyond dates. From sculptured scenes by an artist who knew India well.
7. p. 121 An exhortation by Mahāvīra, the Jina, B.C. 560. From a description.
8. p. 122 The last days of Buddha's teaching, B.C. 489. From a description, to bring out the difference between the nakedness of Mahāvīra and the clothing of Buddha.
9. p. 122 Prasenajit of Kosala (Oudh) pays a visit, B.C. 520. From a sculpture; not successful: very stiff and the horse's tail should be tied to the harness. The scene is fairly protrayed, nevertheless.
10. p. 123 Ajātaśatru of Magadha makes a midnight call, B.C. 495. From description, based on ancient sculpture.
11. p. 124 Anāthapindaka's great act of charity, B.C. 483. From a well-known Buddist sculpture.
12. p. 125 Porus awaits the attack of Alexander, July, 326 B.C. From description, based on Greek accounts of the opening scene of the battle.

1. Attached to the section of the work is a table to "Dates of Indian History" with a cautionary note:—"most of the early dates and many Hindu dates up to the Muhammadan Conquest in 1193 are still controversial."

14. p. 126 A feat of Alexander the Great, B.C. 326. From the Greek account of the attack on the fort of the Malloi.

15. p. 126 Ancient Indian coins from photographs.

16. p. 127 Chandragupta Maurya entertains his bride from Babylon, B.C. 303. From a well-known sculptured scene, showing contemporary customs: the great ladies scantly clothed; the maidservants fully clothed. But I doubt if an ancient Greeco-Persian or Babylonian princess could have been induced to appear otherwise than heavily clad.

17. p. 128 Asoka's Envoy declares Peace, B.C. 261. From another sculptured scene of the same kind as No. 15.

17 p 129 Somewhere here there is a fine full-page dancing scene from a sculpture which is missing from the copy I now have.

18. p. 129 Foreigners at Sanchi with offerings B.C. 145. From a sculptured scene.

19. p. 130 Asoka's missionaries set up an edict pillar at Lauriya Nandangarh, B.C 244. Partly from description and partly from sculptured figures.

20. p. 131 King Milinda asks questions, B C. 140. From description by an artist who knew India.

21. p. 132 Gondophares receives a letter from St. Thomas c. 45 A.D. From description to an artist acquainted with Indo-Baktrian art.

22. p. 133 Kanishka inaugurates Mahāyāna (Northern) Buddhism, 100 A.D. From description and Indo-Baktrian art. The figure of the Buddha is much too modern.

23. p. 134 A street scene in Taxila A.D. 260. From description. The instruction was that the ancient Buddhist sculptures were to be taken for the buildings, but that otherwise the bazaar would be much as it is now in Northern India.

24. p. 135 Vikramāditya Gupta goes forth to war A.D. 395. From description.
25. p. 136 Kālidāsa inditing the "Cloud Messenger" A.D. 375. From description.
26. p. 137 The defeat of the Ephthalites or White Huns A.D. 528. A vigorous battle scene from a study of Mongolian and Indian pictures and designs.
27. p. 138 Fa Hsien at the ruins of Asoka's palace A.D. 407. From study of ancient sculpture.
28. p. 139 The Emperor Harsha pays homage to Buddha A.D. 645. From description.
29. p. 140 An Ancient Coronation. Photograph of an Ajanta fresco, showing ancient method of painting a scene.
30. p. 144 Kirtivarman Chandella visits his temple at Khajurāhu A.D. 1065. From a photograph of a temple at Khajurāhu.
31. p. 144 Śaṅkarācārya talks of the One God A.D. 815. From description to an artist who knew India.
32. p. 145 Rāmānuja contemplating his philosophy of the One Personal God A.D. 1100. From description and a metal image of Rāmānuja.

THE DECCAN & SOUTH INDIA.

33. p. 146 Worship at Kārlī in the days of Christ, A.D. 2[illegible] From a photograph of the Cave and description showing that the dress of the people was much as now.
34. p. 148 Arrival of the Jewish pilgrims at Cochin, [illegible]tionally) A.D. 68. From description sh[illegible] Jewish dress of the period and modern Mal[illegible] costume.
35. p. 149 Pulikesin II. the Chālukhya receives envoys from Persia A.D. 625. From a coloured fresco at Ajanta.
36. p. 150 Cutting and Inscription at Vātāpi A.D. 578. From a photograph taken at Bāḍāmi.

37. p. 150 A Singhalese raid into Southern India, A.D. 1175. From description.

38. p. 151 Vikramānka Chālukhya sends a friendly letter to Kulottunga Chola, *c.* 1080. From description and an Ajanta painting.

39. p. 152 Two busts showing ancient Indian jewellery. From Ajanta paintings.

40. p. 152 Ruins of the Kailāsa at Ellora. From a photograph.

41. p. 154 Defeat of Pulikesin II. Chālukhya Mahāmalla Pallava at Bādāmi A.D. 642. Vigorous battle-piece from description.

42. p. 155 Rājarāja Chola inspects the bass-relief of his exploits at Tanjore, A.D. 995. From photographs of Tanjore, temple walls and description giving modern costume to an artist who knew India.

MUHAMMADAN AND LATER INDIA

The same principles as the above were adopted for illustrations of mediæval and modern India, of which the following were typical examples of the methods by which scenes, sometimes long gone by, were reconstructed:—

43. p. 172 The Mediæval Reformer Kabir and his sons, A.D. 1510. From a contemporary Indian painting in the India Office.

44. p. 174 Rejoicings at the birth of the Emperor Akbar the Great A.D. 1542. From another contemporary Indian painting,

45. p. 174 The Khān Jahān shows Akbar his Princely Captives (the Rebellion of the Mīrzas) A.D. 1572. In colours from a contemporary Indian painting.

46. p. 186 The Action between the French and the English off Pulo Aor (Straits of Singapore) in 1804. From a photograph of contemporary English print.

47. p. 194 Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh of the Punjāb *c.* 1835. From a photograph of contemporary English painting.

48. p. 205 The Well at Cawnpore, 1857. From a photograph of a rare sketch made by an English officer on the spot after its discovery.

Note:—All the later illustrations were made after original contemporary European drawings.

Bearing in mind that the illustrations above mentioned were made by English Artists for an English audience, it is hoped that the above remarks on the method of producing them may be of use to the Chief of Aundh and his colleagues in their praiseworthy attempt to bring home to the modern Hindu public the scenes described in their great Epic. In such a matter it is the public and not any particular class of *virtuosi* that have to be considered. In an effort to reach the public by illustration the initial cost is always great. Messrs. Hutchinson's enterprise, of which my work was of course only a portion, meant, I understand, an outlay of £30,000, and I am not surprised to hear that the new *Mahābhārata* will cost a great deal of money to produce.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A suggested emendation on astronomical grounds of the reading क्षपाः *in the Mahābhārata.*

As the Institute is at present engaged upon bringing out the most authentic and correct text of the Mahābhārata, I wish to bring to their notice an astronomically important word which, in my opinion, deserves emendation.

In the following verses (विराटपर्व अध्याय ५२) तेषां कालातिरेकेण ज्योतिषां च व्यतिक्रमात् पञ्चमे पञ्चमे वर्षे द्वौ मासावुपजायतः ॥ ३ ॥ एषामभ्यधिका मासाः पञ्च च द्वादशक्षपाः । त्रयोदशानां वर्षाणामिति मे वर्तते मतिः ॥ ४ ॥ the word क्षपाः must be emended into क्षयाः, otherwise the word क्षपाः cannot be construed any way, in an astronomical sense. The astronomical formula for changing Solar years into Lunar years, is the following:—

$$x = y + \frac{2x}{5} \text{ months} - x \textit{ tithis};$$

where x denotes the Solar years and y the Lunar years. Multiplying by 13, we get the value of 13 Solar years in terms of the Lunar months and *tithis*. Thus:—

$$13x = 13y + \text{ months } \frac{13 \times 2x}{5} - 13 \textit{ tithis}.$$

$$= 13y + 5 \text{ months} - 13 \textit{ tithis}.$$

Thus we obtain the length of thirteen Solar years agreeing with what is meant in the verse, when we change क्षपाः into क्षयाः.

Moreover the letter प is liable to be easily mistaken for य as they both differ so little.

The commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha on these verses is anything but satisfactory, in the astronomical sense. So also Moropant, the well-known Marāṭhī poet, does not [illegible] I think it is impossible for any literary man [illegible] error, shown above. It is only an astr[illegible]

So also, the speaker (भीष्म), it appears, had intended to use the word त्रयोदश, but must have been obliged to use, in its place द्वादश to meet the exigency of the अनुष्टुभ् metre, as the error is too trivial.

The mistake might have crept in, even one or two thousand years ago. The oldest reading possible, therefore, should be ascertained. If the reading क्षयाः is met with, it should be adopted, I think, in the new edition.

V. B. KETKAR.

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Second Oriental Conference held its sittings at Calcutta for five days from the 28th of January to the 1st of February 1922, and passed off successfully under the presidency of Dr. Sylvan Levi. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay opened the proceedings in a neat little speech, incidentally expounding the Vedantic doctrine of which His Excellency is a great admirer. Then followed Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, the most towering personality in educational matters probably in the whole of India, with his splendid speech taking a scholarly survey of what has been done in the matter of Oriental Research up to date. Dr. Sylvan Levi then delivered a thoughtful and thought-provoking address which was much appreciated by the audience. A very large number of papers had been presented to the Conference and as a consequence it had to continue its sittings up to the 1st of February 1922. We heartily congratulate the Honorary Secretaries, Messrs. Gourlay, Bhandarkar and Chanda on their splendid organisation which left nothing to be desired. The venue of the next sesion was decided to be Madras.

* * * *

We are glad to announce that Dr. Sylvan Levi has promised to visit the Institute some time during the coming Rainy Season.

* * * *

The work of the building of the two Halls, which had stopped since September last, was resumed by the contractor on the 19th of April, the differences being amicably settled, thanks to the efforts of Diwan Bahadur K. R. Godbole and Dr. H. H. Mann.

* * * *

The Secretaries of the 1st Oriental Conference have requested us to announce that the second volume of the Proceedings, the publication of which has long been delayed, will be out by the end of May 1922.

[*20th April 1922*—ED.]

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ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE

1921—22

JULY 1922

ORIGIN OF THE WEEK

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It is a custom observed among the Hindus from time immemorial that the performer of a sacrifice or a rite should keep silence till its completion when Vāk, speech, is let out calling upon the Gods to partake of the offerings made to them.[1] The day or days preceding the sacrificial day are termed Upavastha days on which the vow of abstinence and silence was observed by the sacrificer. This is clearly stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as follows:—(I. i, 7, 7):—

"Now then of the eating or fasting. On this point Āśāḍha Sāvayasa, on the one hand, was of opinion that the vow consisted in fasting. For assuredly, (he argued) the gods see through the

[1] Taitt. Br. II. 2, 6; Ap. Grhya. II. 6, 11 Bodhayana Grhya I. 5, 54; Kathaka S, VI. 7.

mind of man; they know that, when he enters on his vow, he means to sacrifice to them the next morning. Therefore all the gods betake themselves to his house, and abide by the fires in his house (Upavas = to abide); whence this day is called Upa—Vasatha".[1]

There is, however, reason to believe that the vow of abstinence was observed only in connection with major sacrifices, such as full and new moon sacrifices, the Soma, the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya and other sacrifices, while the vow of silence was strictly observed for a few hours during the performance of even daily sacrifices, called the Agnihotra. Accordingly Bodhāyana says in his Pañcataya Kalpa that the Upavastha days are the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the sixteenth (lunar days), but neither the thirteenth nor the seventeenth.[2] The Breaking of silence on the sacrificial days is thus referred to in the Rgveda (X. 189, 3):—

त्रिंशद्धाम विराजति वाक्पतंगाय धीयते ।
प्रतिवस्तोरह द्युभिः ।

The thirty places (Muhūrtas) of each day (prativastoḥ) with the rays of the sun clearly shine; speech (vāk) is resorted[3] to for the Sun (patanga = bird). The Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā substitutes 'hūyate', 'is called', for 'dhīyate' 'is resorted to' while the Atharvaveda reads 'Vākpataṅga aś śrayat' meaning that 'speech betook herself to the Sun.' This seems to imply that speech was with some one else so long and that on the day under reference she betook herself to the sun. From this implication it necessarily follows that each day was dedicated to a particular god and that Vāk, speech, was successively betaking herself to the god connected with ever revolving periodical sacrificial day. Whether that period, through which Vāk was rotating, was a lunar month or a fortnight, or ten days (daśāha) or nine days

1 See also II. 1, 4, 2
2 Manuscript A 82, P. 45, Mysore Oriental Library.
3 Huyate, Maitra, S. I. 6, 7.

(navarātra), or eight days, or seven days (saptāha) or six days (ṣaḍaha) or three days (trikadruka) is what cannot be definitely asserted. That there is clear reference to all these periods in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, is known to all Vedic Scholars. In the Pañca siddhāntikā of Varāha Mihira the lords of the days of the civil month (30 days divided into two periods of fifteen days each) are, however, thus enumerated:—

I

(1) Brahmā	(6) Manya	(11) Sūrya
(2) Prajāpati	(7) Vasaḥ	(12) Candra
(3) Indra	(8) Lakṣmī	(13) Indra
(4) Śiva	(9) Agni	(14) Go
(5) Candra	(10) Yamá	(15) Nirṛti

II.

(1) Hara	(6) Baladeva	(11) Kubera
(2) Bhava	(7) Vāyu	(12) Parvata
(3) Guha	(8) Yama	(13) Bhūmi
(4) Pitaraḥ	(9) Vāk	(14) Brahmā
(5) Varuṇa	(10) Śrī	(15) Viṣṇu

The repetition of Indra, Candra, and Yama twice in the same period and of Brahmā and Yama in both the periods is itself an indication that the reading of the text is doubtful as confessed by Dr. Thibaut himself in his translation. Also from the mention of such epic names as Baladeva, Guha, and Kubera, it is quite evident that the list of names is of a later date and cannot therefore be relied upon as a traditional list of the Vedic period. Still its importance as a proof of the immemorial Āryan custom of calling the days after the names of gods admits of no doubt; for the very names of the week-days, notwithstanding the usurpation of those names by the later planets, will, if traced back to their earliest form, reveal not merely the ancient custom of calling the days after the names of gods, but also their

Āryan origin as opposed to their assumed Babylonian or Jewish nativity. The names of the Vedic gods corresponding to the Teutonic names of the week-days are as follows:—

Teutonic.	*Vedic.*
Sun—Keltic Sul, Latin Sol.	Sūrya
Moon	Mas[1]
Tuis	Dyaus-Divas
Woden	Pṛthivi
Thor-Thonar	Stanayitnu[2]
Freya-Frig	Bhṛgu[3] or Bṛhat[4]

With the exception of the last two, which are replaced by Antarikṣa and Svar, the first four are mentioned in the same order in the Ṛgveda (X. 190, 3.) and their creation in that order by the Creator seems to refer rather to the formation of a week of six days than to the cosmogonic creation, in as much as heaven and earth preceded the sun and the moon in the latter. Also the mention of these names in connection with days 'in due order' is an additional proof that they are the names of week-days. The three verses of this hymn run as follows:—

1 "From fervour kindled to its height eternal law and truth were born:
Thence both the day and the night, and thence the billowy flood of sea arose.

2 From that same billowy flood of sea the year was afterwards produced,
Ordainer of the days and nights, lord over all who close the eye.

[1] Rg. X. 12, 7.
[2] A. V. IX, 1, 10; 20
[3] A. V. IV. 14, 5
[4] Brhatsama is always associated with Sukrāgra day.

3 Dhātar, the great Creator, then formed in due order Sun and Moon (Sūryācandramasau)
Heaven (diva) and Earth (pṛthivī), and Antarikṣa and Svar."

The mention of Stanayitnu, thunder, in connection with Vāk and Prajāpati, the lord of the year, in A. V. IX IX. 9,1 and 20 indicates that that word was also a name of the fifth day, sometimes interchanged for Antarikṣa The verse (20) runs as follows:—

"The thunder is thy voice (Vāk), O Prajāpati;
a Bull, thou castest strength on *earth* and *heaven.*
To that call all cattle look for their existence:
with this she nourishes their force and vigour."

Thus when four out of the six names enumerated in the verse Rg. X. 189, 3) are strikingly identical with the Indo-European names of week-days, it goes without saying that it is the week of six or seven days that forms the subject master of the verse and that Vāk is a cognate word with week, originally a calling day, and later a period of seven days ending with upavasatha or Sabbath day and commencing with Sunday, the first calling day.

There is reason to believe that among the various branches of the Indo-European race, the Greeks, the Romans, the Celts, the Teutons, the Iranians, and the Vedic Aryans, the last two, and especially the Vedic Aryans, had more knowledge of the religious lore of the Aryan stock than others and that while almost all the laymen of the Indo-European stock with knowledge of only the practical and necessary part of their religious rites and customs migrated towards the west, the last two carried with them to India a full and thorough knowledge of all the religious notions, rites and customs. Thus while the Western branches are found to have only a superficial acquaintance with the vow of abstinence, silence, and other rites connected with the weekly, fortnightly, and monthly sacrifices, the full and the details of the same sacrifices are found only in the of the Vedic Aryans and the Iranians. Confining our

attention to the weekly sacrifices, we find two kinds of the week observed in connection with the Gavām Ayana Sacrifice: the week of nine days (Navarātra) and that of seven days (saptāha). These two weeks are thus referred to in the Nidānasūtra (V.11.12): —

Sapta viṅśati rāṣṭrasya rājño vasatayo mitāḥ।
Trayodaśāham trayodáśāham caikam nakṣatramupatiṣṭhati॥
Trayodaśāhāni Tritîyamahnascatasrastredhā
daśatayo Vikurvan।
Triṇavam panthānam Vitatam purāṇam catvariṅśati॥
navarātraiḥ samaśnute a

Yasminvai parivatsare
Sauryo māso'tha candramasaḥ।
Nākṣatro na vilupyate
Kassvittam Veda kassvit॥
Aṣṭâsapta trinsate
Tasminsaṁvatsare mite।
Sauryo māso'tha candramasaḥ
Nākshatro na Vilupyate॥
Saptavinśatimevaiśá
Saptahâneti dakṣiṇā।
Tathodagn saptavinśatim — iti.॥

Twenty-seven are the mansions in the king's (*i.e.*, the sun's) dominion; thirteen and thirteen days he resides in each nakṣatra thirteen days and one-third of a day; thus dividing four times ten days into three equal parts, he traverses the broad and ancient path of thrice nine stations in the course of forty *periods of nine days each.*

Who knows that (cyclic) year in which the solar, the lunar, and the sidereal months are not lost, who knows that? In the year measured by 37 or 38 (full moons), the solar, the lunar, and the sidereal months are not lost. The sun goes to the south for *twenty-seven times seven days* and likewise to the North for *twenty-seven times seven days.*

In the first two verses the poet speaks of the civil year of 360 days divided into forty weeks of nine days each. Since the

samūdha). Therein the observance of the 'Three troops' has been enjoined. That ritualistic observance which consists of the three troops or heads called Aindravāyava, Śukra, and Āgrayaṇa is termed the Three troops. With these three heads repeated thrice the nine days that intervene between the first and the last days termed Prāyaṇīya and Udayaṇīya of the Twelve-days, the tenth day being set apart, are filled up. Hence in the yearly sacrificial session also all the central days between the prāyaṇīya and the Udayaṇīya are likewise to be filled up (with the three heads repeated thrice). Then it seems to follow that this filling up will be impossible unless the above-mentioned three troops repeated thrice to make up nine days are as a whole repeated over again. This repetition may be done in two ways:- for example, when measuring the ground with a rod repeatedly placed across it, they repeatedly place the whole rod with its edges and middle, but not any of its single parts. Thus the repetition of the nine days is one way of filling up. Again just as students desirous to learn the prapāṭhākas of the Vedas repeat often portion after portion, so is the repeated observance in the same way of each day that forms part of all the nine-day periods (of the year). This is the second way. Of these two, the first seems to be intended, because the day is specially mentioned: "The word, day (Ahaḥ) mentioned in the sentence that 'with Aindravāyava being the *first day*' is to be connected with all the eight preceeding sentences, (such as) 'Then with Śukra (the next day,) then with Āgrayaṇa (the third day)'. Also with the words 'then' the peculiar order of the succession of the days with particular Grahas to proceed with is enjoined. So, if the day which begins with Aindravāyava were itself often repeated in close succession, then the observance enjoined in 'then the day beginning with Śukra' and the other sentences would have to be negatived. Hence, if, on the other hand the nine days with their special initial (grahas), are repeatedly observed, as enjoined by the texts, the usual textual order follows the repetition of the

measuring rod in close succession.—This is the *prima facie* view. (The accepted view is as follows):—

The word, day, is not intended, lest the textual injunction should take two forms: *i.e.*, that which begins with Aindravāyava is the first, and that is a (single) day. Thus in order to avoid the observance of a group of similar days the text would have to be split into two. If on the other hand the day be not intended, then only the succession of the several initial rites mentioned by the eight repetitions of the word 'then,' would be enjoined. So in this case it is not possible to observe that which begins with Aindrvāyava after observing the Āgrayaṇāgra, as enjoined to be observed in the second turn by the text. Even if this is not observed, it is possible to fill up the interval between the Prāyaṇīya and the Udayanīya days merely by the extension of one's own place:—the division of the interval into nine parts, the observance of the rite beginning with Aindravāyava in all the days of the first division, then the rite beginning with Śukra in all the days of the second division, and so—such observance—in such order is what is termed the extension of one's own place: One's, *i.e.*, of that which begins with Aindravāyava, own place, *i.e.*, the place preceding that which begins with Śukra. This observance only in a single day is possible in the typical 'twelve days' rite. But here it is observed in many days. Hence its extension.[1]"

What is meant in this tedious and enigmatical discussion is this:—In the twelve-days' sacrifices it is usual to draw nine principal Soma cups for making Soma oblation and for Soma drinking. They are called grahas or cups to draw in Soma juice. Their names are (1) Upāmausavana, (2) Antaryāma, (3) Vāyava, (4) Aindravāyava, (5) Maitrāvaruṇa, (6) Āśvina, (7) Śukra, (8) Manthin, and (9) Āgrayaṇa Instead of drawing the cups in order at the rate of one cup on a day, as may be expected, they draw all the nine cups each day with a special cup to begin with in particular

[1] Jaiminiya Nyayamala X, 25, C/o also Bhattadipika Vol. IV pages 27-43, Mysore Edition.

days. The first day, the tenth and the last are treated as special days and the cups are drawn in a particular order on those days. On the first day of the remaining nine days, all the nine cups are drawn beginning with Aindravāyava and the day is called Aindrvāyavāgra, that which begins with Aindravāyava. On the second day the Śukra cup is first drawn and then the rest. On third day the Āgrayaṇa heads the list. Now the question is how the order of cups is to be in the yearly session of Gavām Ayana. Are we to divide the 358 days of the year into periods of nine days each and draw the cups in three turns in each of those periods, as in the Twelve-days' sacrifice? Or are we divide the 360 days into 9 periods of 40 days each and draw the Aindravāyava and other cups on each of the first 40 days, then the Śukra and other cups on each of the next 40 days and the Āgrayaṇa and other cups on each of the third periods of 40 days and so on in the next two turns? The last of the two alternatives is the authorised custom according to the Mīmāṁsakas. Thus though there is much doubt as to the order in which the grahas or Soma cups were originally drawn during each of the nine-day periods of the year, this much is certain that with some Vedic poets nine days formed a sacrificial week and that each day of which week was called after the name of that graha or Soma cup that was the first to be drawn on that day and that when at a later period the planets and the nodes were discovered, the word graha was applied as a general appellation to the seven planets and the two nodes termed Rāhu and Ketu. So strong seems to have been the hold which the *nine* grahas had on the mind of the priestly astrologers that they went so far as to regard the two nodes, the cutting points of the lunar and solar ecliptic paths, as two more grahas or planets and so add them to the seven planets to make up nine grahas. These nine grahas with their presiding deities are usually represented by nine kinds of gra[illegible]s and are ever now worshipped on all auspicious oc[illegible]w[illegible] Navagrahapūjā and is expect[illegible] The nine

deities, and grains, [1] considered as forms of days and nights, are thus enumerated in the Bodhāyanagṛhya Sūtra (I, 18):—

Grahas.	*Symbols.*	*Presiding deities.*	*Counter presiding deities.*	*Grains.*
1. Sun	circle	Agni	Rudra	Wheat
2. Moon	square	Water	Gauri	Rice
3. Mars	triangle 	Earth	Ksetrapala	Cajanus Indicus
4. Mercury	arrow	Visnu	Visnu	Phraseolus Mungo
5. Jupiter	rectangle 	Indra	Brahma	Bengal gram
6. Venus	pentagon	Indrani	Indra	Dolicho Lablab
7. Saturn	bow 	Prajapati	Yama	Sesamum
8. Rahu	winnowing basket 	Sarpa	Nirrti	Phraseolus Radiatus
9. Ketu	Flag 	Brahma	Citragupta	horse-gram

What deserves special notice in this connection is the association of the Aindravāyava and other grahas with Vāk, speech, as stated in the following Brāhmaṇa passage quoted in the Bhaṭṭadīpikā (Vol. IV. P. 27):—

"Speech is this Aindravāyava: verily do the grahas that are drawn, beginning with Aindravāyava follow speech herself."

What is particularly striking about the nine grahas, Soma cups, is the attempt, so far back as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa itself, to reduce or dedicate the nine grahas to seven deities. In III. 1, 1, the Aitareya expressly mentions grahas as *nine* and in III. 1, 3, asks us to address the nine verses with which they are drawn, only to *seven deities*, Vāyu, Indra-vāyu, Mitrā varuṇa, Āśvin, Śukra, Manthin, and Āgrayaṇa; the [illegible] are again identified with seven [illegible]ia), down-breathing (apāna) [illegible]d speech. The-

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III. 2, 2, 13) substitutes mind for limbs. The grahas are also distinguished as seven pouring cups (dhārā-grahas) and two receiving cups (adhārāgrahas—not pouring cups), the upāṁśu (the pressing stone) and the Antaryāma (the catching cup) being regarded to be of the latter kind. Whether all this attempt at reducing the nine to seven real grahas was made merely to give preference to the week of seven days or to adjust them to the seven planets just then discovered are questions that cannot be definitely answered. There is however reliable evidence to show that side by side with a week of nine days there existed a week of seven days also current during the Vedic period. The days of the seven-day-period are also identified with seven vital airs,[1] seven metres,[2] seven grains,[3] seven animals,[4] seven cases[5], seven Iḍāvibhaktis[6] and seven kinds of honey-whip (madukaśa).[7]

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 3, 1 1) says that the Gāyatrī is the breath, the Uṣṇik the eye, the Anuṣṭubh the voice, the Bṛhatī the mind, the Paṅkti the ear, the Tṛṣṭubh the strength and the Jagatī the downward breathing. It is already pointed out how the seven vital airs have been identified with seven days by representing them by seven Soma cups. The observance of a week of seven days in terms of seven vital airs of the head is still more clearly set forth in the following passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III. 8, 41):—

> Apa vâ etasmāt prāṇā atikrāmanti yo dīkṣhāmatirecayati।
> Saptāham pracarantiḥ sapta vai Śirṣaṇyāḥ prāṇāḥ॥

"Away do the vital airs pass from him who exceeds the period of Initiation. They observe seven days (in Initiation), for seven are the vital airs of the head."

1 & 2 Satapatha Brahmana X. 3, 1, 1.

3 & 4 Bodhayana Sr. Panchalayakalpa, Mysore Oriental Library Ms. No. A. 82. P. 40.

5 Nidana Sutra of the Samaveda, III. 5

6 Ibid „ „ 10

7 A. V. IX. 1, 20.

The manner ef observing the seven days of Initiation (Dīkṣā) by residing in seven different parts of sacrificial Hall is also set forth in detail in the Bodhāyana Śruata (XII. 17)

With the exception of the Iḍā-Vibhaktis, identification of the seven days with the seven items in all other cases is rather implied than expressed. Regarding the distribution of the seven Iḍā-vibhaktis on the seven days of the Twelve-days' session, the Nidāna Sūtra (III. 10) says as follows:

"The Kāleya on the first day, the Madhuchandas on the second day, the Raurava on the third day, the Pṛṣṭī on the fourth, the Rāyovājīya on the fifth, the Goṣṭha on the sixth, and the Jarābodhīya on the seventh."

Since the Gavām Ayana sacrifice is performed after the model of the Twelve-days' sacrifice, it follows that the Gavām Ayana year was also divided into periods of seven days each and that the same chants with Kāleya and other seven distinct Sāma-endings were repeatedly sung in order on all the days of the seven-day periods. As regards the distribution of the seven cases and seven metres on the seven days of the sacrificial session, there is found no clear statement made in any of the Brāhmaṇa or Śrauta works. The absence of such clear expression seems to be due not merely to the existence of various sacrificial periods into which the sessions of twelve-days and three-hundred and sixty days were divided, but also to the necessity and importance of attending to the distribution of a considerable number of ritualistic functions pertaining to the various periods and the days that constituted them. There were, as parts of the nine-day period already considered, periods of three-days and six-days on which the Sāmavedic, Rgvedic, and the Yajurvedic priests had to observe a number of their own minor sacrificial functions to complete the main sacrifice. Besides these two causes there is also a third cause which seems to have occasioned loss of correct tradition and brought out much confusion in the traditional arrangement of sacrificial functions with reference to particular days. It is individual option to which is left the division of the ten days of

the Twelve-days' session into minor periods of three days, six days, seven days or nine days. Regarding the question of the division of the ten-days into minor periods, the Nidāna Sūtra (III. 6) leaves it to individual option by saying "Yathākāmi bhāgānām," "one may be at liberty with regard to divisions" and continues to say that the ten days may be divided into three periods of three days each called gāyatra, traishṭubha, and jāgata, the tenth day being called the Ānushṭubha day, or that each of the first four days may be called gāyatra, traishṭubha, jāgata, and ānushṭubha and likewise the seventh, eighth, ninth, and the tenth, fifth and sixth day being treated as special days, following the custom of a different sacrificial school. In III. 7, the same Sūtra divides the day of thirty muhūrtas (II. 13) into four parts, the first part called gāyatra occupying one-third or ten muhūrtas of the day, the second called traishṭubha lasting till the singing of Brahma sāma, then the Jāgata portion up to the sixteenth muhūrtas when the Śodaśī graha is drawn, and lastly the Ānushṭubha part till the next morning. The division of the day into 30 parts or muhūrtas is also clearly stated in the same Sūtra in II. 13 and IX. 8. In II. 13 the Sūtra says that "the night is made to consist of fifteen parts equally with the day which is divided into fifteen parts." In IX, 8 it says that "in the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice the prescribed praise-songs leave out of account three muhūrtas of the day," implying thereby that the chanting of the *twelve* songs covers only the twelve out of the fifteen muhūrtas of the day.

From this allotment of gāyatrī and other metres not merely to naming the days, but also to measure the muhūrta divisions of the day and night, I am inclined to think that there was also a custom of calling the seven days of the week after the seven metres, gāyatrī, U[illegible]ṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, Paṅktī, Triṣṭubh, and Jagatī in order [illegible]g in [illegible] ghaṭikas of the whole day to the seven me[illegible]ṭikas to each; thus on the [illegible]ssigned to gāyatrī i[illegible]

ghaṭikas to Anuṣṭubh and so on, the last four ghaṭikas, *i.e.*, 24 to 28 ghaṭikas of the day to jagatī, then the remaining two ghaṭikas of the day and the first two ghaṭikas of the night to gāyatrī again, the next four ghaṭikas of the night to Uṣṇīk and so on till the last four ghaṭikas of the night are covered by Gāyatrī again. Accordingly the next day begins with Uṣṇīk and also closes with Uṣṇīk, the third day begins with Anuṣṭubh and closes with Anuṣṭubh, giving the fourth day to Bṛhatī to begin and close it. Similarly the fifth day begins with Paṅkti, the sixth with triṣṭubh, and the seventh with jagatī. The Eighth day again begins with gāyatrī and closes with it on the same rotatory principle. This seems to be the meaning of the following passages of the Atharvaveda (VIII. 9, 19):—

Sapta chandāṁsi caturuttarāṇynyo anyasminnadhyarpitāni

Seven metres, succeeding each by four, each being put over the other.

It has been, however, usual to take the word 'caturuttarāṇi' to mean 'rising by four syllables each,' basing that interpretation on the consideration of the fact that the gāyatrī consists of 24 syllables, the Uṣṇīk of 28, the Anuṣṭubh of 32, the Bṛhatī of 36, the Paṅkti of 40, the Triṣṭubh of 44 and the Jagatī of 48, thus each rising by four syllables more than the other. But there is reliable documentary evidence to show that though this interpretation holds good with regard to the later period of the Vedic times, the same cannot at all apply to the earlier period when the metres, if they can be called so in the proper and modern sense of the word, were entirely of a different character. And this will be considered in the next section.

PART II

It appears that though the Gāyatrī seven principal Vedic metres are of eight to two scale, the

of metres: the Deva metres, the Asura metres and the Prajāpati metres, all bearing the same names and that the seven Deva metres consisted of one to seven syllables rising by one on a progressive scale, the Asura metres of fifteen to nine syllables in descending order, and the Prajāpati metres of eight to thirty-two syllables rising by four, the later gāyatrī and other metres called Ṛṣi metres being the combination of the above three kinds. The passage of the Nidāna Sūtra (I. 6) runs as follows:—

"Then about the Devāsura metres; composed of syllables beginning with one and progressively increasing by one are the Deva metres: thus the Jagatī consists of seven syllables and the extra metre of eight syllables. Composed of syllables beginning with fifteen and progressively decreasing by one are the Asura metres: thus the Jagatī consists of nine syllables and the extra metre of eight syllables. Then the Prajāpati's metres are such as are composed of syllables beginning with four and progressively rising by four: thus the Jagatī consists of thirty-two syllables, and the extra metre of 36 syllables; of these, three and three (metres) put together in order form each of the seven Ṛṣi metres."

A glance at the following table will make the meaning clear:—

	Names of the metres.	Number of syllables in the Deva.	Number of syllables in the Asura.	Number of syllables in the Prajapati metres.	Number of syllables in the Rsi metres.
1	Gāyatrī ..	1	15	8	24
2	Uṣṇik ...	2	14	12	28
3	Anuṣṭubh ...	3	13	16	32
4	Bṛhatī ...	4	12	20	36
5	Paṅkti ...	5	11	24	40
6	Triṣṭubh ...	6	10	28	44
7	Jagatī ...	7	9	32	48
8	Extra metre Atichandas ...	8	8	36	52

From this it is clear that the metres in their original form and especially the Deva metres were no metrical songs, but merely a

sort of numerical words applied to days in terms of syllables: thus Gāyatrī standing for one syllable and denoting the first day of the week, the Uṣṇīk for two syllables and denoting the second day and so on, the Jagatī or 7 syllables indicating the seventh day. The Asuras, on the other hand, seem to have counted their days from the full moon to the new moon in two turns of seven metres or days each. The Atichandas or extra metre seems to have been a contrivance to fill up the interval between the last day of the second week and the full moon or new moon day. And when at a later period the Ṛṣi metres were also devised in the form of songs, the days of the week or of the month appear to have been counted in terms of the metres or in terms of the total number of the lines in one or all of the total number of the lines in one or all of the metres. Accordingly the Nidāna Sūtra (V. 3) says that the total number of lines of the Sato-Bṛhatī metre sung amount to 120 corresponding to the 120 ābhiplavika days constituting five Savana months of 30 days each. Thus it is clear that the metres were originally devised merely to denote the number of days of the week or of the month either by their serial order or by the syllables of them, as in the Deva metres, or by the lines constituting them. This idea is corroborated by the following passage of the Nidāna Sūtra (V. 4):—

छन्दस्संयोगरपोऽद्य विधिः। तत्स्थाने चातुरुत्तर्यं मासशब्दवैयर्थ्यमिति चेत् पंचसु मास्सु इति।

"Now the application of metres (to days) is laid down. With regard to the question that in that case *the orderly rise by four* renders the word, 'month' meaningless, the answer is that it is made good in *five months*.'

Evidently the phrase, 'orderly rise by four' in the above passage can have no reference to the increase of the syllables of the seven metres by four, since the number, 252, which is the total number of syllables of all the metres put together far exceeds the number of days of either a single month or five months. Hence the author's meaning appears to be the four turns of seven

days in terms of seven metres in a lunar month of 29½ days. Now four times seven metrical days only amount to 28 days and thus fall short of a lunar month by about 1½ days. Hence the objection that the word, month, would be meaningless, if the days of the month be counted in terms of seven metres. The answer to the objection is that in five lunar months, the counting of the days in terms of seven metres would cover all the days. The author is not completely wrong in his arithmetical calculation: The total number of days in five lunar months of 29½ days each comes to 29½ × 5 = 147½ which exceeds twenty-one turns of seven metrical days only by ½. The author of the Nidāna Sūtra seems to have been more a practical priest than mathematician and not to have felt the difference of twelve hours in fixing the days of full moon or new moon for sacrificial purposes.

The only documentary evidence showing the naming of the days in terms of the metres in practice seems to be available in the Tāntric texts. It is an immemorial custom with the Hindus to enumerate the year, the month, the day, and the Nakṣatra or star of the day before beginning the performance of a rite on all occasions and especially on occasions of Japās or repeated utterance of prayers or sacred texts. Besides following this custom in uttering the Tāntric prayers or mantras, it is also usual to enumerate the *Chandas* of the Mantra along with its sage and presiding deity. Thus in connection with the Mantra "Vakratundāya hum"[1] the sage or compiler of the Mantra is said to be Bhārgava its Chandas Anuṣṭubh, and its presiding deity Vighneśa. Here the Mantra consists only of six syllables and the use of the metre Anuṣṭubh with reference to this Mantra is evidently meaningless, unless it is taken to mean the third of the week when it was compiled and repeated for the first time. The same seems to be the explanation of other metrical names inserted in the prefatory memorandum of all other mantras.

Later when the metres were recast on a musical scale, they seem to have been employed not merely to count the days but

1 Mantramahodadhi II. 2-3.

also to measure the sixty nāḍīs or Ghaṭikās of the da of syllables uttered. Thus according to the Sūr (I. 11-12) ten long syllables or Svaras = one respirati six Śvāsas or respirations = one Vināḍi, Sixty Vināḍis Sixty Nāḍīs = one day, that is, the time taken to $10 \times 6 \times 60 \times 60 = 21,600$ syllables is equivalen of 24 hours.

In his commentary on the Bhāvanopaniṣat,[1] Bhāsk that the Lalitā goddess of the Tantra literature is no the combination of 2,16,000 respirations or Śvāsas.

In this connection I may be permitted to digress a the main topic and draw the attention of Semetic sch remarkable coincidence between the Hindu and methods of reckoning time both in figures and no though widely differing in the signification of the t Babylonian figures like those of the Hindus are 6 and multiples of 6 and 10 and of their squares, and the term by the Babylonians to name them are Sar (3600), Sos Ner (600), which seem to be identical with the H Svara, Śvāsa, and Nāḍī. While these terms are empl Hindu to denote in a natural and almost scientific minute divisions of a day in terms of a unit of time ta press a Svara or syllable, the Babylonians appe arbitrarily used them to indicate as many years as the figures attached to them imply. Among other coinci year of 360 days and a cycle of six years with 36 inter deserve mention here.[2] This misuse of the terms, and Sar in the sense of 600, and 3600 years simila the words Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali in the late of the Hindus is evidently the cause of the fabulous c accounts of the lives of ancient kings given alike in lonian clay Tablets and the Hindu Epics and Astronon

[1] Saundaryalaharī, p. 252, Mysore Edition.

[2] Encycl. Britt. under Babylon ; Rawlinson's Ancient Monar Pp. 129, and Foot Note 1 p. 193.

Be the misuse of the terms what it might, it cannot however be denied that the significance which it has on the mutual intercourse between the two nations and on the indebtedness of the one to the other is far deeper than it appears on the surface, and I shall have occasion to dwell at length on this point in a separate paper later on.

The Nidāna Sūtra also speaks of certain other metres termed Atichandasa or extra metres and classifies them into Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā, and Kṛta, according as the number of syllables composing them leave as remainder 1, 2, 3, or 0 when divided by four. It appears probable that it was in view of celebrating the Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā, and Kṛta years of every successive cycle of four years by a similar number of verses composed into similar metres that this classification of metres was resorted to. This is what the Nidāna Sūtra says about the classification of metres into Kali and other forms :—

"Above the Jagatī metre (of four lines of twelve syllables each) there come what are known as long metres, beginning with a metre of 52 syllables and increasing by four syllables at a time up to a metre of 104 syllables, thereby making twice seven kinds of metres. Their names are:—Vidhṛti, Śākvarī, Aṣṭi, Atyaṣṭi, Mamhana, Sarit, and Śāmpā. These are the names of the first seven varieties. Sindhu, Salila, Ambhaḥ, Gahana, Arṇava, Āpa, and Samudra; these are the names of the last seven varieties. All these are Kṛta metres. Then before the Gāyatrī (of 24 syllables) there are five varieties, such as Kṛti of four syllables, Prakṛti of eight syllables, Samkṛti of twelve syllables, Vikṛti of sixteen syllables, and Abhikṛti of twenty syllables. There are also metres filling up the intermediate places of the above metres.

"Metres such as begin with twenty-two syllables and rise by four syllables up to 102 syllables, making three groups of seven each; their names are :—Rāṭ, Samrāṭ, Virāṭ, Svarāṭ, Svavasini, Parameṣṭhi, and Antasthā; these are the names of the first seven varieties. Pratna, Amṛta, Vṛṣa, Jīva, Tṛpta, Rasa, and Śukra, these are the names of the next seven; Arṇa, Ambha, Āpya, Ambu,

Vāri, Āpaḥ, and Udaka; these are the names of the last seven. All these are Dvāpara metres. Prior to the metre of 22 syllables there are five varieties, beginning with two rising by four syllables; their names are:—Harṣikā, Sarṣikā, Marṣikā, Sarvamātra, and Virāṭkāmā

"Then what are called Nicṛt and Bhurij:—These which are less by one syllable (than the Kṛta) are Nicṛt. And those which are greater by one syllable (than the Kṛta) are Bhurij. All these are Tretā and Kali metres, and the Bhurij metres the Kali metres. Metres should be known as progressively rising by four syllables at a time."

For easy reference a tabular statement showing the classification of metres into Kṛta and other forms is appended.

Names of Krta metres.	No. of syllables.	Names of Dvapara metres.	No. of syllables.	Treta.	No. of syllables.	Kali.	No. of syllables.
Krti	4	Harsika	2		3		5
Prakrti	8	Sarsika	6		7		9
Samkrti	12	Marsika	10		11		13
Vikrti	16	Sarvamatra	14		15		17
Abhikrti	20	Viratkama	18		19		21
Gayatri	24	Rat	22		23		25
Usnig	28	Samra-	26		27		29
Anustubh	32	Virat	30		31		33
Brhati	36	Svarat	34		35		37
Pankti	40	Svavasni	38		39		41
Trstubh	44	Paramesthi	42		43		45
Jagati	48	Antastha	46		47		49
Vidhrti	52	Pratna	50		51		53
Sakvari	65	Amrta	54		55		57
Asti	60	Vrsa	58		59		61
Atyasti	64	Jiva	62		63		65
Mamhana	68	Trpā	66		67		69
Sarit	72	Rasa	70		71		73
Sampa	76	Sukra	74		75		77
Sindhu	80	Arna	78		79		81
Salila	84	Ambha	82		83		85
Ambhah	88	Apya	86		87		89
Gahana	92	Ambu	90		91		93
Arnava	96	Vari	94		95		97
Apa	100	Apah	98		99		101
Samudra	104	Udaka	102		103		105

Regarding the sacrificial distribution of the seven case-endings on the seven week days, the Nidāna Sūtra says as follows :—

Then there are these substantive Case-endings :—thus, he, him by him, to him, from him, his, and in him. The vocative case is the eighth. The sacrificer uses the vocative case on the first day. For what reason? The Sāma-chant called Rathantara contains a word in a case indicative of an object at sight and nothing that is out of sight is appropriate to the vocative. And the nominative case is what refers to the churning of the fire. That he will use on the fourth day. 'Him' is the second (objective case): that he uses on the second day. 'By him' is the third (instrumental case): that he uses on the third day. 'To him' is the fourth (dative case). With reference to this they say that there is no sacrificial objective available; they, however, give only one example: "A progressive (Pratavyasīm) and new sacrifice I make to *Agni*." This example contains the word 'Prata' and so it has no form appropriate to the division. 'He' is the nominative. This he uses on the fourth day. For what reason? It is indicative of divisions and also of case-endings. (So he uses) an indicative among indicatives. Moreover, it is a name-bearer; for on this day they generate the fire and give a name to the fire, thus born This is a Brāhmaṇic statement:—'The Devas desired to attain prosperity; this they did not attain on the first day; nor on the second; nor on the third; this they attained on the fourth day; this the Brāhmaṇa regards as prosperity; to nouns are attached case-endings.' There are also two doubts with reference to the fifth day. Gautama says that 'his' or 'from him' may be used on that day. Others say that it is the dative case with no exception; this the sacrificer is favourably disposed to use on another day, as it is banished from the first day by the name-bearer. Of this purport is the statement of the Brāhmaṇa, 'with that (dative) prosperity is repeated.' Others say that since there is in the Ājyastotra of the Brahma priest the statement '*From Indra* round my body' containing an ablative case the ablative 'from him' is used on the fifth day. Dhananjaya says that the possessive 'his' is proper for that (sixth day); it is the sixth case; this he is favourably disposed to use on the sixth day since it is driven out by the vocative case or the

vocative itself is used on the sixth day, thus making the beginning and the close harmonious alike."

Trivial though the discussion regarding the propriety of using one or the other of the seven or eight case-endings on the first six days of the week may appear to us, the author of the Nidāna Sūtra could not avoid it, as he was bound to follow the observance to the very letter of the authoritative texts quoted by him. Unfortunately we are in possession of none of the Brāhmaṇa texts referred to by him. Hence in the absence of these historical treasures, the trivial discussion of the Nidāna Sūtra is all the more invaluable to us. From this discussion it is easy to infer that the observance of a sacrificial week of six days with distinct case-endings in the principal passage of the sacrificial prayers peculiar to each day was older than the Nidāna Sūtra itself, and that though the seven-days-week is not referred to in this particular portion of the Nidāna Sūtra, the seventh day was probably symbolised by the seventh case-ending.

The fifth section of the Pañcatayakalpa of Bodhāyan Śrauta[1] contains some passages which imply that the days of the sacrificial session called Gavām Ayana were divided into periods of seven days each and called in terms of village and wild grains, and tame and wild animals as in the following table :—

	1st day.	2nd day.	3rd day.	4th day.	5th day.	6th day.	7th day.
Village Grains	Sesamum	Black beans	rice	barley	priyangu	wheat	horse gram
Wild grains	Syamaka	nivara	Jartila	Gavidhuka	garmuta	Vasya	bamboo rice
Tame animals	Cow	horse	goat	sheep	man	ass	camel
Wild animals	Two-hoofed	Svapada	birds	serpent	elephant	monkey	river-animals (nadeya)
Metres	Gayatri	Usnik	Anustubh	Brhati	Pankti	Tristubh	Jagati

1 Manuscript No. A. 82, page 40, Mysore Oriental Library, Mysore.

A far more convincing proof regarding the division of the months into two halves, the white and the dark, and of the half months into two periods of seven days each is furnished by the passages about the Honey-whip contained both in the Atharva Veda and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. In IX. 1, the Atharva Veda speaks of a Honey-whip (madhu-kaśā) and of honey makers (madhu-kṛtaḥ) engaged in collecting and adding fresh honey to the honey store (IX. 1, 16) and divides the honey into seven kinds, naming them as (1) Brāhman, (2) king (rāja), (3) the draught-ox, (4) the milch cow, (5) barley, (6) rice, and (7) honey (Verse 22). The key-note to the interpretation of this passage is contained in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III. 10, 38), Where the honey-makers are identified with the days and nights of the white and dark halves of the month. The passage runs as follows:—

"Agni (that is worshipped every day, both morning and evening) is verily the honey contained in the whip. The nights that form the white and the dark halves (of the month) are the honey-makers and the days the honey-bees."

The performance of the Agnihotra, Fire-worship, day after day, week after week, month after month, and year after year, seems to have been so favourite a rite with the Vedic Aryans and Iranians that they came to regard the fire as sweet as honey and the days as honey makers divided into groups of seven each. The seven sacrificial formulas to be uttered one on each of the seven days are according to the Bodhāyana Śrauta (III. 17) the seven Vyāhṛti syllables, such as (1) Bhūḥ, (2) Bhuvaḥ, (3) Svaḥ, (4) Mahaḥ (5) Janaḥ (6) Tapaḥ, (7) Satyam. Bodhāyana continues to say that whatever might be the period which the sacrificer would seek to reach, whether full moon, or new moon, or quarterly periods of a year or the year itself, he would not fail to reach them, if he would only perform his daily fire-worship week after week with the seven sacrificial formulas, one for each day.

The Atharvaveda (XV. 15 and 16) calls the week-days prāṇas (vital airs) and the week itself Apāna (downward breathing) and

gives two names to each of the seven days and one s popular and special name to the first days of the fo of a month. The passage runs as follows :—

"The first vital air is Ūrdhva or Agni, the second P the Sun, the third Abhrūḍha or the Moon, the fourth Pavamāna, the fifth Yoni or Water, the sixth Priya or t the seventh Aparimita or the people ; the first Apāna i Moon ; the second is the Aṣṭakā, the eighth day ; the th New-Moon and the fourth is Śraddhā."

Thus in fact the four quarters of the Moon have obvi plied the division of the month into weeks, as shrewdly g the writers on the origin of the Week in the Ency Britanica. The same writer goes on to say that " whe Moon and full Moon are religious occasions, we get in natural way a sacred cycle of 14 or 15 days of the wee or eight days determined by the half-moon. Thus the o close the new and the full Moon as days of sacrifice ; a of the sacrifice was called the Upavasatha ; and in Bud same word (uposatha) came to mean a sabbath observ and full Moon days and of the days which are the ei the full Moon and the new Moon days respectively wi and other religious exercises." [1]

Thus while for the reasons set forth in the above Hindus may be credited with the invention of the We be of utmost importance to know what scholars ha regarding the claim of other ancient nations to that c is not Egyptian in origin inasmuch as the old Egyptia week of ten days, but not of seven days." [2] "The B Sabbath was the fifteenth day of the month or full moo was not connected with any week of seven days. Much been written on the Babylonian Sabbath is misleading."

[1] Encyc. Brit. XXI. PP. 124—5 ; Childer's Pali Dict. P. 52 Buddhism P. 8 ; Bodhāyana Dharmasutra I. 11 22 and 35.

[2] Encyc. Britt. XXI. P. 125.

[3] Faiths of Man by J.G.R. Forlong, Vol. III, P. 210.

Semetic people gave no names to days of the week and the Babylonians indeed had apparently no week, their Sabbath being the fifteenth of the month. The Aryans on the other hand dedicated each week day to a god, apparently under the Roman influence in the West, while the Hindus and the Tamils alike have such names in India." [1]

Professor Rawlinson also equally hesitates to give credit to the Babylonians for the sexagesimal horary division of the day. In his 'Herodotus' Vol. I. page 226 he says: "There is however no evidence to show that the Medes or even the Babylonians were acquainted with that order of the planets which regulated the nomenclature of the days of the week. The series in question, indeed, must have originated with a people who divided the day and night into sixty hours instead of 24; and so far as we know at present, this system of horary division was peculiar in ancient times to the Hindu Calendar, the method by which the order is eliminated is simply as follows:—The planets in due succession from the Moon to Saturn were supposed to rule the hours of the day in a recurring series of sevens, and the day was named after the planet who happened to be the regent of the first hour. If we assign then the first hour of the first day of the Moon, we find that sixty-first hour which commenced the second day belonged to the fifth planet or Mars; the 121st hour to the 2nd or Mercury; the 181st to the 6th or Jupiter; the 241st to the 3rd or Venus; the 301st to the 7th or Saturn; and the 361st to the 5th or the Sun. The popular belief (which first appears in Dion Cassius) that the series in question refers to a horary division of 24 is incorrect; for in that case, although the order is the same, the succession is inverted. One thing indeed seems to be certain, that if the Chaldaeans were the inventors of the hebdomadal nomenclature, they must have borrowed their earliest astronomical science from the same source which supplied the Hindus; for it could not have been by accident that a horary division of 60 was adopted by both races."

1 Faiths of Man by J.G.F. Forlong, Vol. I, P. 514.

I have already pointed out how the Babylonian terms, Sar Soss, and Ner together with the sexagesimal numerical figures can be traced to the Hindu source; and strange to say, the very word which with the Babylonians denoted a degree of the ecliptic circle is 'Sar,'[1] identical with the Sanskrit word Svara=Akṣara. Regarding the division of the ecliptic circle into 360 sars, Robert Brown says as follows :—

"This stellar and originally solar *Ram* stands at the head of the ten antediluvian Babylonian kings whose reigns divide the circle of the ecliptic and who are said to have reigned 120 Sars (= 432000 years). In Akkad 60 was the Unit, and, according to Berosos, the time-periods were a Soss (60 years), a Ner (60 × 10 = 600), and a Sar (600 × 60 = 3600); 3600 × 12 = 432,3000. Two Akkadian modes of division of the circle are into 12 and 120 (12 × 10 60 × 2) parts; and the fragmentary planisphere (S. 162 Brit. Museum) shows a division into 12 parts of ten degrees each. Various nations have legends of ten (perhaps 'many,' probably originally fingers and thumbs) archaic heroes or kings. This number becomes definite, and is ultimately applied in Euphratean regions to a heaven circle. According to Ptolemy, the Chaldeans divided each sign into ten-parts (greater degrees), and each such part containing 60′ and each minute 60″, 10 × 60 × 60 (= 36,000) = 1/12 of the circle, and 36,000 × 12 = 432,000, or the circle divided into seconds. Thus the 120 Sars = 360 degrees, and similarly the Akkadian year was composed of twelve months of 30 days each. Whatever the ten kings may have originally represented, we thus find them connected with a heaven-circle and the most obvious heaven circle is the ecliptic. The kings therefore, practically appear in the account of Berosos as stellar reduplications; and it next becomes obvious that the lengths of their reigns, which are clearly not arbitrary, must correspond with the distances separating certain stars, probably near the ecliptic."

[1] The Celestial Equator of Aratos, by Robert Brown, Junr., in the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, Vol. II. P. 151.

The Indian system of the Yugās or ages of the world presents many features which forcibly remind us of the Euphratean Scheme. The age-cycle is formed by the numbers of 48, 36, 24, 12 = 120 = the number of Sars of Babylonian kings, whilst 4 − 3 − 2 − 1 = 10. The numbers 10 and 12 thus form the basis of the cycle, 10 kings and 12 lunations, or other divisions of the year. To make up the divine year, the product of these, 120, is multiplied by 100, *i.e.*, by ten intensified, and thus = 12,000 years, which is also the duration of the Iranian divine year, and which gives 1000 years for each month and for each sign of the Zodiac. But a divine day = a human year, and hence a divine year = 360 ordinary years. Whence we obtain the figures:—

4800 × 360 = 1,728,000
3600 × 360 = 1,296,000
2400 × 360 = 864,000
1200 × 360 = 432,000

4,320,000 = 432,000 × 10."

I have already shown in the verses quoted from the Nidāna Sūtra, the Sun and also the Moon elsewhere are called kings of the heaven circle (rāṣṭra) and the stellar divisions the 27 abodes of the kings. With the Vedic Aryans each month had a different Āditya or Sun and ten or twelve ecliptic divisions corresponding to 10 or 12 months of 36 and 30 days respectively had ten or twelve Ādityas or Suns to rule over them. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (VI. 1, 2, 8,) says that by his mind Prajāpati (the year) entered into union with Speech (*i.e.*, with Svaras = syllables = Sars) and become pregnant with 12 drops, and that the drops became the twelve Ādityas. As regards the division of the ecliptic into ten parts of 36° each, corresponding to 10 months of 36 days each, there is a clear statement in the Saubhāgya tantra [2] and the Daśa-hotṛ formula of the Yajurveda implies the same idea. The

[1] Compare Māgha II.

[2] Patala III, Verse 5 (No. B. 317 Ms. Oriental Library, Mysore.)

Saubhāgya tantra speaks of a traditional division of the year of 360 days into ten months of 36 days each, every month being divided into four weeks of nine days each. It also calls the days of the month in terms of alphabetical letters. Similarly the Ten Hotars or priests corresponding to the ten Zotas of Iranians are, as will be shown in a separate paper, no other than the representatives of the ten Zodiacal division ruled over by ten sun-kings. It appears therefore that the Babylonian time-table in terms of Soss, Ner, and Sar and the fabulous account of the reign of ten antediluvian kings are distorted versions of foreign astronomical ideas ill-learnt, ill-digested and misapplied. I may now pass on to conclude the paper by a word on the planetary names of the Week-days. The evolution of the seven-day week seems to have passed through three stages. In its first stage which embraces the pre-migration period of the Aryan race, the seven days of the Week appear to have been called after the names of the gods whom the Aryan people worshipped in their daily, half-monthly and monthly sacrifices. These names are still retained by almost all the European branches of the Aryan stock with the exception of the Keltic and the Latin branches, by whom they are called after the names of the planets. The second stage commences with the Vedic period and extends up to the first few centuries of the Christian era when different sacrificial schools had devised different sets of names to their Week-days, as shown in the above pages. The third stage is remarkable for its discovery of the five minor planets which with the earlier planets, the Sun and the Moon, lent their names to the Week days. The term used to signify the planets in general is the old Vedic word 'graha' Soma-cup, which has no connection whatever with the European word planet. The symbolic representation of the planets, sun, moon, and possibly Vena or Śukra (Venus) by the sacrificial grahas or Soma-cups seems to be the reason for bringing the later planets also under that term. Nor do the individual Hindu-names of the later planets, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn, seem to have any affinity with their corresponding Latin and Keltic names. Con-

sideration of these facts and also of the indigenous stories [1] related in the Purāṇas accounting for the birth of the planets inclines me to believe that the Hindus are as little indebted to the Grecians as they are to the Babylonians for their astronomical knowledge, and for their conception of the Week and discovery of the planets.

[1] For a summary of the stories, see Bhattopala's Commentary on Varahamihira's Brhatsamhitā, Chap. I. Verse 11.

BHĀDVĀ COPPER PLATES OF DHARASENA II OF [GUPTA] SAṂVAT 252

D. B. DISEALKAR, M.A.,
Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot

These are two plates found twenty-seven years back at Bhādvā, a large village fifteen miles to the south-east of Rajkot in the Hālār Prānt in Kathiawad. They have been preserved in the Watson Museum, Rajkot.

The two plates are joined together by the usual seal of the Valabhī kings, passing through two holes one in the lower part of the first plate and the other in the upper part of the second. The ring passing through the two other right hand holes of both the plates is missing.

The plates, which are in an excellent state of preservation, and inscribed on one side only, measure about $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{8}''$ each. Their edges are fashioned into rims on the four margins to protect the writing. There are 16 lines of writing in each plate.

The letters, very finely and neatly engraved in perfectly straight lines, can one and all be easily read. Each measures about $\frac{1}{8}''$ in breadth and $\frac{1}{2}''$ in height. Though they are deeply engraved they are not seen on the reverse, the thickness of the plates being full $\frac{1}{8}''$.

The *characters* are of the usual Valabhī type[1]. The following initial letters are used : *a* in *atharvaṇasa* (l. 23), *ā* in *ānarttapura* (l. 22), *i* in *iva* (l. 5) and in *Iśirānaka* (l. 23), and *u* in *udakāti-sarggeṇa* (l. 26). The sign of *jihvāmūlīya* is employed once before *kuśalī* (l. 20). Numerical symbols for 200, 50, 2, 10, and 5 are expressed (in l. 32). Two perpendicular lines are used to mark the end of a verse; but they are horizontal at the end of the last verse. Two perpendicular lines are used before the first

[1] See Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions p. 164.

śloka and after the end of the preceding sentence. The sign for full point—a perpendicular line—is used twice only in l. 32.

In respect of *orthography* it is to be said that the rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded and there are mistakes in writing of every kind, a few of which are as follow—Sīngha is used for simha, l. 7. Short and long vowels are indiscriminately used throughout the inscription. The vowel *ṛ* is frequently replaced by *r* [1], and once by *ru* (in Krutaḥ l. 27). In the case of nasals many times both the *anusvāra* is used and the *sandhi* is observed, e. g. सामान्यंश्च l. 28, उक्तंश्च l. 29. Consonants conjunct with the *repha* are generally doubled. [2]. The following Prākrit forms deserve to be noted: Prāpīya (l. 23) for Prāpya; Dariśayitā (l. 18) for Darśayitā etc. The dropping of final *t* in *kaisci* (l. 27) and vasa (l. 30) may be due to forgetfulness of the engraver rather than to the Prākritisms [3].

The grant is issued from Valabhī by Paramamāheśvara Sāmanta Mahārāja Śrī Dharasena (II), and is dated on the very same *tithi* of the same year as five other grants of the same king [4], *i.e.* *Vaiśākha ba* [*hulā*] 15 *Sam.* 252. The panegyrical introduction including the description of each one of the kings is also identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasena II [5]. But like Dhruvasena I, he assumes also the title *sāmanta*, which his predecessor Guhasena seems to have dropped [6]. The name of his grandfather is spelt Dharapaḍa (l. 10) while with one more exception [7] his remaining grants read either Dharapaṭṭa or Dharapaḍḍa.

[1] Probably according to the practice of Sāmavedi Brahmanas in their Vedic recitations.

[2] According to Panini VIII. 4-46.

[3] See E. I. XI p. 105.

[4] Nos. 469-472 of Prof. Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions in E. I Vol V and E. I. XI p. 80.

[5] Besides the above see I. A. XV p. 187, Gujrat and Skt inscriptions of. Kathiawad p. 35, I. A. VI p. 9 and I. A. VII p. 70.

[6] In later grants Dharasena II assumes the title Mahasamanta.

[7] E. I. XI. p. 80.

The grantee is the Brāhmaṇa Rudragopa, son of Rudraghoṣa, of the Kauśravasa gotra and a student of Atharvaveda and resident of Ānarttapura. The *gotra* of the Brāhmaṇa is a curious one. I do not know of a Brāhmaṇa having this gotra.

The object granted to the Brāhmaṇa is the village Iṣikānaka situated in[1] (*Prāpīya*) the Ambareṇu district (*sthalī*), together with the usual privileges of *udraṅga, uparikara* etc[2].

The purpose for which the grant is made is as in all Brāhmaṇical recipients the performance of five sacrifices.

Among the names of officers to whom the grant is addressed we find two *viz.* Avalokika and Daśāparādhika, which we have not met with in any of the grants of the dynasty so long discovered. The meaning of the first term is not clear. It may perhaps mean a supervisor who had to do the miscellaneous work of supervising over the fields of villagers for the purpose of revenue. Daśāparādhika most probably means an officer who collected the fines imposed for the commission of ten offences in the limits of the village[3]. Sometimes this privilege was allowed to a grantee (cf. सदशापराधं mentioned among privileges appurtenant to a grant.)

The Dūtaka or the executive officer of this grant is *Cirbbira* and the writer *Skandabhaṭa*, the minister for peace and war. The latter officer seems to have held his position for many years from the latter part of the reign of Guhasena[4] to the end of the

1 The word Prapiya or rather Prapya is equivalent to antargata of the expression वटनगरस्थल्यन्तर्गतभोण्डानकग्रामः in E. I. XI p. 180.

2 For the meaning of these and other technical words see E. I. XI p. 176.

3 These offences are mentioned in the Astadhyayi of Vagbhata as follow: —

हिंसास्तेयान्यथाकामं पैशुन्यं परुषानृते ।
संभिन्नालापव्यापादमभिध्या दृग्विपर्ययम् ॥
पापं कर्मेति दशधा कायवाङ्मनसैस्त्यजेत् ।

See also Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions p. 189 note 4.

4 His earliest mention is in the copperplate of 246.

reign of Dharasena II The name of the former, however, occurs in the seven grants of 252 only.

As regards the identification of the localities mentioned in the inscription it may be said that *Valabhī* is no doubt the modern Vaḷā, 18 miles north-west of Bhāvnagar. *Ānarttapura* is generally [1] supposed to be the same as Ānandapura, the old name of modern Vaḍanagara in the Northern Gujarat, the home of the famous class of Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. In the Valabhī copperplates both Ānarttapura and Ānandapura are mentioned, the former at least in three copperplates [2] and the latter in four [3]. Had both these names represented one and the same place their separate mention is rather unintelligible. It must be stated however, that there is one point in favour of the identity of both the places: A grant of Dharasena IV of Sm. 330 [4] states that a Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇamitra, son of Brāhmaṇa Keśavamitra, of Śarkkarākṣi gotra and a student of Ṛgveda had come from Ānarttapura and was living in Kāsaragrāma. Another grant [5] of Kharagraha II of Sm. 337 states that a Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, son of Brāhmaṇa Keśava, of Śarkkarākṣi gotra, and a student of Ṛgveda had come from Ānandapura and was residing in Kheṭaka.

The Brāhmaṇa—most probably a Nāgara one—in both these plates seems to be the same individual, though the places of residence are different. The interval of seven years may, however, remove the difficulty. Now in the first grant the place from which the Brāhmaṇa came is given as Ānarttapura; and in the second the place from which the same Brahmaṇa [originally ?]

[1] *e.g.* Guj. Gaz. p. 6 I. A. 1919 Dec. Suppl. p. 6.

[2] Of Sm. 270 I. A. VII p. 70; Sm. 287 unpublished; Sm. 330 I. A. VII p. 73.

[3] Of Sm. 221 V. G. I. VII p. 299; Sm. 339 I. A. VII p. 76; 352 I. A. XI p. 305 and 447 F. G. I. No. 39.

[4] I. A. VII p. 73.

[5] ibid p. 76.

name is given as Ānandapura. Ānarttapura may have been the ancient name of Ānandapura and during the times of these plates people may have been speaking both the names though the latter was more common. That Ānarttapura is not Dwārakā, as has been supposed by some,[1] will be easily seen. A Brāhmaṇa desiring patronage from the rulers of Valabhī will not go to settle in the Khedā (Khetaka) district at such a long distance from Dwārkā at one extremity of the kingdom leaving Valabhī and most of the kingdom in the middle. The Brāhmaṇa from his Śarman name and from his gotra seems, moreover, to be a Nāgara, and Dwārka was not the home of these Brāhmaṇas. There is much similiarity between Ambareṇu and modern Āmbaraṇa, the chief town of a Khawās Girāsdar under the Nawanagar State. The village Iṣikānaka cannot however be traced. But it is more probable that the *sthalī* Ambareṇu was in Gujarāt rather than in Kathiawad.

The expression of the *tithi* as Ba[hula] 15 is historically interesting. It occurs, as I have said above, in as many as five other grants of the same date and also in some other grants [2] where the month and year are different. It no doubt means the 15th day of the dark fortnight *i.e.* the Amāvāsyā[3]. In modern times we express the day as Vadya (or Bahula) 30. While in ancient times it seems that they expressed the last day of the fortnights as Śu 15 and Ba 15.

[1] See *e.g.* Buddhi Prakāsa 1915 March.

[2] See *e.g.* the grant of 310 आश्वयुज ब १५, I A. VI 1-12. Sm. 207 ; E. I. III p. 318 ; Sm. 207 unpublished.

[3] The new moon-day is considered a holy day and possibly the day for the sun-eclipse. Hence it is the best day for making grants for holy purposes.

TEXT

First Plate

1. ओं[1] स्वस्ति **वलभितः** प्रनभप्रणतानित्राणां नैत्रकाणांमेतुलबलसपत्नमण्डला-भोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारस्तलब्धप्रतापप्र

2. तापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागोनुरक्तमौलभृतामित्रश्रेणिवैलावाप्तराज्यश्री **परममाहेश्वरः श्रिसेनापति**

3. **भटार्कः** तस्य सुतस्त्पादरज्जोरुणावनतपवित्रिक्रेतशिरां शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडाम-णिप्रभाविच्छुरितपाइनखप्क्तिः[11]

4. [12]दिधितिर्दिनानाथक्रिपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभवः **परममाहेश्वरः [14]श्रिसे-नापतिधरसेन**स्त्स्यानुजतत्पादानिप्र[15]

5. मप्रशस्ततरविमलमौक्तिमणिर्म्मन्वादिप्राणित[16] विधिविधानधर्म्मा धर्म्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्थपर्द्धविराखिल

6. भूवनमण्डलभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वनमुपहितराज्याभिषिको[21] महा-विश्रेणनावपूतराजश्रिः **परममहे**

7. **श्वरः श्रीमहाराज्द्रोणसीङ्घः** सिंह इव तस्यानुज स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघटानीकानामेकविज्यि[29] शरणैषि

8. णां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्वानां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रेणयिनां यथाभिलषितफ-लोपभोगदः **परमभागवतः श्रीम**

१ Expressed by a symbol. २ Read वलभीतः. ३ Read मैत्रकाणामतुल० For meaning of this phrase See Fleet's note in I.A. XVI. 361. ४ Unlike other plates of the year we have here the form सपत्न met with in earlier grants on which see E.I. III p. 319. ५ Read ०प्रतापः; for the explanation of these expressions See I.G.I. 167. ६ Read ०मानार्जवो०. ७ Read श्रेणी For the meaning of these words see I.A. 1919 p. 207. ८ Read राज्यश्रीः. ९ Read श्रीः. १० Read ०त्रराः. ११, १२ and १३ Read नखपङ्क्तिरदीधितिर्दीनानाथ. १४ Read कृपण. १५ Read श्रे. १६ ०नुजस्तत्पादा-. १७ Read प्रणाम. १८ Read प्रणति. १९ Read ०पद्धतिरखिल. २० Read ०भुवनमण्डलाभोगैक. २१ Read ०राज्याभिषेको. २२ Read महाविश्राण २३ Read ०राज्यश्रीः. २४ Read ०माहेश्वरः. २५ Read द्रोणसिंहः. २६ Read तस्यानुजः. २७ Read ०विजयी. २८ Read शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वानां. २९ सुहृत्.

9. **हाराजध्रुवसेनः** तस्यानुजस्तच्चरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मष सुविशुद्ध स्वचरितोदकक्षालिताशेषकलि

10. कलङ्क[33] प्रसभनिर्जितारातिपक्षप्रथितमहिमा **परमादित्यभक्तः श्रीमहाराजधरपड**[34] तस्यसुतस्तत्पादसपर्य्यावाप्त

11. पूण्योदय[35] शैषवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव सनदपदगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषः तत्प्रभावप्रणता

12 रातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तसख्यपादनखरश्मिसंहति[40] सकलस्मितप्रणितमार्गसम्यग्परिपालनाप्रजाहृदयरंजना

13. दन्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यधैर्य्यगांभीर्य्यबुधिसंपद्भिः स्मारशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः श

14. रणागताभयप्रदानपरतया [46]लिणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलं प्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रजा (दा) नानन्दितविद्वर्च्छुहृप्रणयिहृद

15. यः[49] पादचारिव[50] सकलभूवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः **परममाहेश्वरो महाराज श्रीगुहसेन**[52] तस्य सुत[53] तत्पादनखमयू

16. खसंन्तानविस्रितजाह्नवीजलौघविक्षालिताशेष्कल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यभोगसपत्[56] रूपलोभा

Second Place

17. दिवाश्रितः सरमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलभनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमातिस्रि[59]

३० Read तस्यानुज. ३१ Read ०कल्मषः. ३२ Read सुविशुद्ध. ३३ Read कलङ्कः. ३४ Read धरपडः. ३५ पुण्योदयः.. ३६ Read शैशवात्. ३७ Read सत्त्व. ३८ Read सव्य. ३९ and ४० Read रश्मिसंहतिः. ४१ Read सूक्तिप्रणीत. ४२ Read हृदय. ४३ Read रूप. ४४ Read बुद्धि. ४५ Read स्मर. ४६ Read तृण. ४७ Read फलः. ४८ Read विद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयि. ४९ This epithet beginning with प्रार्थना etc. and ending with हृदयः is not found in some other grants. e.g. F.G.I. p. 166 ५० Read पादचारीव. ५१ Read ०भुवन. ५२ Read गुहसेनः. ५३ Read सुतः. ५४ Read सन्तान. ५५ Read विसृत; Some plates read निवृत्त instead of निसृत. ५६ Read संपत्. ५७ Read रूप. ५८ Read सरसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः. ५९ Read ०सृष्टाना.

18 ष्टानामनुपालयिता [60]धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणां[61]मुपप्लवानां दरिशयिता[62] श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सं

19 हृतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मि[63]पर्य्युपभोगदक्षविक्रमक्रमोपसंजातविमलपार्थिवश्री[64] **परम-माहेश्वरो**[65] **सामन्त**[66]**महाराजश्रीश्**[67]**वर**

20. सेनः[68] कुशली सर्व्वान्नियुक्तकविनियुक्तक[69]द्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटभटध्रुवाधिकरणिक-दाण्डपाशिक[70]शौल्किकावलोकिक

21. प्रतिसारकचोरोद्धरणिक[71]दशापराधिकराजस्थानिय[72]कुमारामात्यादींश्चान्यांश्च यथा सम्बध्यमानकां[73] सन्नाज्ञापयत्यस्तु व[74]

22. संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो[75] पुण्याप्यायनाय[76] आत्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिल-षितफलावाप्तये **आनर्त्त**[77]**पुरवास्तव्यकौत्स**

23. वससगोत्राय अथर्व्वणसब्रह्मचारिणे[78] **ब्राह्मणरुद्रघोषपुत्ररुद्रगोपाय अम्ब-रेणुस्थलीप्रापीय इषिकानकग्रामः** सोद्र

24. द्रङ्ग[79] सोपरिकर[80] सभूत्वातप्रत्याय[81] सधान्यहिरण्यदेय[82] स्योत्पद्यमानविष्टीक[83] सदशापराध[84] समस्तराजकीयानामहस्त

25. प्रक्षेपणीयः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन[85] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञिकानां क्रियाणां[86] समुत्सर्पणार्थमार्च्चद्रर्का

26. र्ण्णवसरक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं[87] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं[88] उदकातिसर्गेण ब्रह्मदेयं[89] निसृष्टि[90] यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्वा भुं

27. जतः[91] कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतः प्रदिशयतो[92] वा न कैश्चि[93] प्रतिषेधे वर्त्ति-तव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्चास्मद्वंशजैर

60 Read धर्म्म. 61 Read °कारिणामुपप्लवानां. 62 Read दर्शयिता, which is found in some grants. 63 Read लक्ष्मी. 64 Read श्रीः. 65 Read माहेश्वरः. 66 Read सामन्त. 67 The sign of *jihvamuliya* is here. 68 Read विनियुक्तक. 69 Read °पाशिक. 70 Read चौरोद्धरणिक. 71 Read राजस्थानीय. 72 Read °दीनन्यांश्च. 73 Read °मानकान्. 74 Read वः. 75 Read मातापित्रोः. 76 Read पुण्याप्यायनाय. 77 Read ब्रह्मचारिणे. 78 Read सोद्रङ्गः. 79 Read सोपरिकरः 80 Read सभूतवातप्रत्यायः. 81 Read सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः. 82 Read सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः. 83 Read सदशापराधः. 84 For the meaning of this and the foregoing terms see E.I. XI,p. 176. 85 Read क्रियाणां. 86 चन्द्रा. 87 Read सरिक्षितिसमकालीनः. 88 Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः. 89 Read ब्रह्मदेयः. 90 Read निसृष्टः. 91 Read भुञ्जतः. कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतः प्रदेशयत्ता. 92 Read कैश्चित्. 93 Read नृपतिभिश्चास्मद्वंशजैः.

88. न्यद्वंशजैर्व्वानित्यन्यैश्चर्य्यन्यस्थिरं[९४] मानुष्यं सामान्यंञ्च[९५] भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य[९६] परिपालयितव्य

89. श्च [।] यश्चैनमाछिंद्यैंदाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैः[९८] सोपपातकैः संयुक्त[९९] स्यादित्युक्तंञ्च[१००] भगवता वेद्व्यासेन व्यसे

90. न[१०१] ॥ षष्टी[१०२] वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमेदः [।] आच्छेत्ताचामन्ता[१०३] च तान्येव नरके वस[१०४] ॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातेभ्यो [१०५]यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरा[१०६] [।] महीं

91. महिमतां श्रेष्ठ [१०७]दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा [१०८]भुक्ता राजभि[१०९] सगरादिभि[११०] [।] यस्य यस्य यादा[१११] भूमि[११२] तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति = [॥]

92. स्वहस्तो मम महाराजश्रीधरसेनस्य । **लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिक्रि[११३]तस्कन्दभटेन । दू[११४] चिर्ब्बिरः** [।] सं[११५] २०० ५० २ वैशाख ब[११६] १०५

९४ Read ०अनित्यान्यैश्चर्य्याण्यस्थिरं. ९५ Read सामान्यञ्च. ९६ Read ०मस्मद्दायोन्मन्तव्यः. ९७ Read ०च्छिद्यादा-. ९८ Read महापातकैः. ९९ Read संयुक्त. १०० Read ०क्तञ्च. १०१ Read व्यासेन. १०२ Reac षष्टिं. १०३ Read चानुमन्ता. १०४ Read वसेत्. १०५ Read यत्नाद्रक्ष. १०६ Read युधिष्ठिर. १०७ Read दानाच्छ्रेयो. १०८ Read भुक्ता. १०९ Read राजभिः. ११० Read सगरादिभिः. १११ Read यदा. ११२ Read भूमिः. ११३ Read ०कृत. ११४ This is an abbreviation of दूतकः For the correct meaning of this see E.I. XI p. 177. ११५ An abbreviation of संवत् or स्वत्सर. See F.G.I. p. 30, note 3. ११६ *i.e.* बहुलपक्ष. See F.G.I. p. 92, note 1.



THE KOPPARAM PLATES OF PULAKEŚIN II

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These plates were found near **Kopparam** in **Guntur** District (Madras Presidency) and were sent to me by the famous Telugu poets, Messrs. Kopparapu brothers, who once exhibited their wonderful power of composing three hundred extempore verses in one hour, on a subject given on the spot.

Plates described.

This grant consists of three copper plates, each measuring $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{4}{5}''$. These are hung together by a circular ring with a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}''$. The ring was not cut when the plates were received by me. A small oval seal ($1\frac{1}{2}''$ and $1''$) is attached to the ring, with the emblems of a boar, the sun and the moon. There is no legend on it. The upper or the first side of the first plate and the lower or the second side of the third plate are left blank, perhaps to serve as covers to the writing inside. The edges of these plates are not raised into rims. The last plate is broken a little and consequently the reading of a few letters is doubtful (l. 13).

Language.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit prose, except the usual laudatory verses. The writer or the engraver of these plates was very careless in his work. He has omitted throughout the *anusvāras* and the *visargas*, except in a few instances. All these have been corrected in foot notes. He has omitted many letters *e.g. bhuna* for *bhuvana* (l. 1), *bṛspati* for *bṛhaspati* (l. 15), *bhaṣyati* for *bhaviṣyati* (l. 14). The greatest and vital error committed by this careless scribe is in l. 5, where the word *priyaputrā* is used instead of *priyaputra*, creating an unnecessary suspicion in the mind of the reader, that the grant was not by **Pulakesin II**, but by his son or nephew. From the context, of course, the mistake is apparent. The cases of nouns are most ignorantly changed *e.g* :—*rājyasya* for *rājyēnā* (l. 9-10),-*sūtrasya*, -*viprasya* for -*sūtrāya*, *viprāya*.

Alphabet.

The alphabet of the grant is the Telugu-Canarese script current in the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. Bühler in his *Indische Paleographie* calls this variety as the 'Archaic variety of the Canarese and Telugu alphabet' (cols. 12-14 and 17 of the plate VII) and which script, according to him, persisted up to the end of the reigns of the first two **Chalukyas** of **Vengi.** The letters of this grant are beautifully engraved and well preserved. They very much resemble the letters in the Nerur [1] and Hyderabad [2] grants of **Pulakesin II** and the Telugu Academy plates [3] of **Vishnukundin Madhava-varma III.** These plates contain a separate symbol for the Dravidian consonant ṟ, *śakata-rēpha* as it is now called in Telugu (l. 12). This goes to indicate that even at such an early period the Dravidians had a literature of their own, which necessitated the invention of a symbol for a sound peculiar to their language and foreign to Sanskrit. We have the numeral eight represented by two crosses + + in this grant (l. 11). We find that the symbol of + represents the numeral four in the Aśoka alphabets, the Eastern Cave Alphabets [4] and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin **Madhava-varma's** plates.[5] But it is strange that this writer should add two 'fours' to make up the figure of eight, when a separate symbol existed for eight at that period. We find it in **Madhava-varma's** plates. We know that Mādhava-varma was the contemporary [6] of Pulakeśin II. It is also seen in Chīkkulla plates [7] which were issued by the grand-father of **Madhava-varma.** There is one peculiarity in the representation of these symbols for

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII p. and plate.

Ind. Ant. Vol. VI p. 73 and plate.

3 *Ep. Re. Southern circle*, C. P. no. 7 of 1913-14. This is edited by me from the original plates which are in my possession as the Secretary of the Telugu Academy. My article with plates will shortly appear in the Journal of Letters, Calcutta University.

Vide Ojha's plates.

5 *Ep. Re. (S. C.)* C. P. no. 7 of 1913-14.

6 Vide Dr. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* p. 90 and my article on Madhava Varma referred to in ft. n. 3 above.

Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 193.

numerals. It is eight hundred square measures of land that is given, and not eight measures (*aṣṭa-śatam Kshetram*); but symbols used are + +., two crosses and a dot. The letter *ta* in *śata* was originally omitted by mistake and was subsequently inserted below the letter *śa*.

Gist of the grant.

The grant after enumerating the usual titles of the **Chalukyas** mentions Śrī **Kirtti-varma-Prithivi-vallabha-Maharaja** (l. 4). His beloved grandson (which evidently a mistake for son) was Śrī **Pulakesi Prithivi-Vallabha-Maharaja,** who wanted to honour the deserving persons (l. 7). He in person gave to the donee the land mentioned in the grant (l 8). But the formality of issuing the grant was done by one **Prithvi Duvaraja**. This **Duvaraja** who was very clever in conquering the kingdoms of the neighbouring kings, had secured hereby kingdom for his son by conquering his rival kings (ll. 8-10). further claims to have destroyed the clans of **Kali** (l. 8). land measuring eight hundred square measures in the **buli** in **Karmma-rashtra** was given to a Brāhmaṇa **a-Sarma** belonging to **Sandilyayana** *gōtra* and **a** Sūtra.

Date of the grant determined.

These plates must have been issued during the period when **Pulakesin II** invaded the East Coast, *i.e.* the **Kalinga** and **Vengi** kingdoms. The date of this invasion was hitherto only inferred vaguely by historians. Dr. Fleet thinks[1] that this invasion took place 'at any rate anterior to A. D. 612.' Vincent Smith thinks[2] that Pulakēśin 'made himself master of Veṅgi, between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī in A. D. 609.' Let us see if from the present plates we can fix the exact date of the **Vengi** invasion of **Pulakesin.** The donation is made in the presence of **Pulakesin** (l. 8) and apparently by him. It was then carried out by one **Prthivi Duvaraja.** The date of these plates depends upon the identification of

1 *Dynasties of the Canarese districts*, Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, pt. II p. 356.

2 *Early History*, 3rd Ed. p. 425.

this Duvarāja. In the Goa plates [1] of the time of Pulakēśin II, we hear of one **Satyasraya-Dhruvarajendra-varma.** He was a subordinate of Pṛthivī-vallabha Mahārāja and was the governor of four *viṣhayas* and *maṇḍalas.* Now of the name '*Śatyāśraya-Dhruvarājēndra-Varmā*' I think *Dhruvarāja* is the name proper and the remaining words are appellations. Similarly of the words *Pṛthivī Duvarāja*' of our plates *Duvarāja*' is the name proper and '*Pṛthivī*' is an appellation and forms part of *Satyāśraya-Pṛthivī-Vallabha*' which is the title of Pulakēśin. Dhruvarāja some how wants to appropriate some of those titles. I am therefore inclined to believe that **Dhruvaraja** of the Goa plates [10] and **Duvaraja** of our grant are one and the same person. The chances of this identification are enhanced when we see that in both the grants he boasts of his possession of a number of *viṣayas* and *maṇḍalas.* In the Goa plates [1] he calls himself t master of four *viṣayas* and *maṇḍalas* and in this grant h us that he is the master in seizing the neighbouring m (l. 9).

Presuming this identification to be true, we can fix the our grant, as the date of the Goa plates [1] is given in the S It is "dated on the full-moon day of the month of Māgh saṁvat 532, corresponding approximately, to the 15th A. D. 610 or to the 5th January A. D. 611 according Śaka year is applied as current or as expired". We grant gives us another date '*pravardhāmāna-vijaya saṁvatsaram viṁśatimam,*' *i.e.* the 20th year of the victo reign. But whose reign? Dr. Bhāndārkar is of opinion th these twenty years are to be counted from the beginning of the reign of Maṅgalesa of the Western Cālukya-line, while Dr. Fleet thinks [2] that **Dhruvaraja**, though a subordinate sovereign, has given his regnal year and we are to take that S. S. 532 is the 20th year of his reign. I believe that Dhruvārāja is giving his own regnal year. However, for our present purpose it is immaterial whether these 20 years are counted from the beginning of

1 *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. X p. 365 and plates.

2 Vide Kielhorn's remarks on no. 7 Ep. Ind. Vol. VII Appendix page 7.

Maṅgalēśa's reign or from that of **Dhruvaraja.** Any mistake as to this starting point would not vitiate our conclusion. In line 13 of our plates, it is said that the grant was made on the *Mahā-navamī* day in the month of Kārtika in the 21st year of the victorious reign. This 21st year again may be from the beginning of **Mangalesa's** reign, which is not very probable or from the commencement of **Dhruvaraja's** reign. In either case if the 20th year of a certain era chances to be the Śaka year 532, the 21st year of the same era will certainly fall in the Śaka year 533. By calculation [1] this would be A.D. 611 or 612 as we take the Śaka year 533 was the current or the expired. Here again the name of the day, Thursday, comes to our help and fixes 611 as the required year; because *Kārtika Śuddha-navamī* [2] of the year 611 falls on Thursday, while the same date falls on Monday in 612. We are, therefore, to take that the Śaka year 533 of our grant and 532 of the Goa grant were current years and not expired ones. We thus arrive at a conclusion that this grant was issued on the 21st of October in 611 A. D. We are in this way, able to know exactly the time of the conquest of **Vengi** and **Kalinga** by **Pulkesin II** and consequently our grant attains some importance.

Mahanavami in Kartika.

There is a peculiarity, specially to be noted, about the *Mahā-navamī* mentioned in l. 13. At present *Mahā-navamī* is a day previous to the festival of *Dasarā* and comes in the bright-fortnight of the month of Āśvina. In our plates it is placed in the month of Kārtika. Even if one takes this Kārtika to be the solar Kārtika, it is not possible that lunar Aśvina *Śuddha* 9, can fall in it. It is therefore to be supposed, that at the beginning of the seventh century, the ninth lunation of the lunar Kārtika was called *Mahānavami.*

[1] All these calculations are made according to Dr. Swami Kannu's *Indian Chronology.*

[2] In the plates it is not clear whether the 'Navamī' mentioned was of the bright-fortnight or of the dark-fortnight. I therefore took both those possibilities into consideration while calculating the date, and it so chances that both the days are Thursdays in 611 while they turn out to be some other days in 612.

Places identified.

Of the places mentioned in this grant, **Karma-rastra** was a well known geographical division of the Telugu country. We can trace it in inscriptions, from very ancient times to the fourteenth century of the Christian era. It is spelt as **Karmma-rastra, Karmaka-rastra, Kamma-rastra, Kammanandu**. A Brāhmī inscription [1] at Jaggayapet, the date of which is not later than the second century. A. D., mentions Kammaka-rāṣṭra. Pallava-grants [2] of the sixth century mention it. **Ponna**, the famous Canarese poet, who lived at the end of the tenth century tells us, in the introduction of his *Śānti-purāṇa* [3] that **Kammanadu** was an integral part of **Vengi-Visaya.** From an inscription [4] of the eleventh century at **Konedona** (lat. 16°01′, long 80°06) in Narasaraopet Taluk of Guntur district, it is clear that the village, which was formerly known as **Kothya-dona,** was then included in **Kamma-rastra.** We should remember that our plates were also found in the same Narasaraopet Taluk and not far from Koṇedona, it is natural to conclude that the village of our plates was situated within the present Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur district. The exact position of the place may be inferred from the boundaries given.

Boundaries discussed.

Unfortunately the boundaries are not very clear. Let us try to make out some meaning out of them. Unlike others, our grant mentions the boundary marks first and then the directions. The eastern boundary is given as *balāka-balvala.* I correct this as *balāka-palvala* which means 'the tank of the cranes'. There may be a tank which was known in Telugu by the name of '*Koṅgala-kuṇṭa*' or '*Ceruvu*' which was thus translated into Sanskrit The western boundary was *Karmakāra-taṭāka.* This must be a Sanskrit translation of the Telugu appellation '*Kammari-vaṇḍa*

[1] Kielhorn's List of Brāhmī Inscriptions No. 1202.

[2] *The Ongodu grant* of Vijayskanda Varma II and *the Ongodu grant of* Simhavarman II. *Ep. Ind. Vol. XV, p.* 246.

[3] Vide Narasimhachari's "*Lives of Kannada poets.*'

[4] *Ep. Re. (S. C.)* Stone Inscription 192 of 1898.

kuṇṭa' or '*Ceruvu*' (the tank of the iron-smiths). The southern boundary was *Koṇḍaverupūr-patha*, which means the road to the city of Knoḍavēru. We know Koṇḍa-vīḍu (lat. 16°15′ long. 80°17′) in the Narasāraopet Tāluk, the capital of the Reddi Kings in the fourteenth century. We may take that Koṇḍavērupūr of the seventh century became the Koṇḍavīḍupura of the fourteenth century. The northern boundary was Vīrparupattu *i.e.* the road to Virpuru. There is now a village called Vipparla (lat. 16°8′ long 79°59′) in Narasaraopet Taluk, which may be identified with Virpuru of our plates. We can therefore infer that the village of **Irbuli** was to the north of Koṇḍavidu and to the south of Vipparla.

Reading considered.

In line 10 we find *Duvarāja-manatti mūgamūr-vāsta-vyāya*, I would like to correct this as *Duvarāja* [*var*] *maṇā-ttimūgamūr vāstavyāya* thus making Attimūgamūr the name of a village. There is one Mūṅgamūr in Kandukur Taluk of Nellore district and it may be that it was named after Attivarma which is shown by the prefix Atti. We know from the *Gorantla*[1] *plates* of Attivarma found in Guntur district that he ruled on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā. Guntur and Nellore are contiguous districts.

More about Duva-raja

Duva-raja the real executor of this charity seems to be a feudatory chief and a great general who followed **Pulakesin II** in his early conquests. We find him at **Goa** in 610, granting a village to a Brahmin at the command of **Pulakesin**. In 611 we find him in **Vengi,** giving away some lands with the express permission of his master. We know from the Goa plates that he was the master of four *viṣayas* and *maṇḍalas*. The present plates tell us that he killed the families of **Kali**, showed his valour in many a battle, occupied the territories of the neighbouring (or mean) kings and defeating the hosts of his enemies founded a kingdom with the right of hereditary succession to the race of his son (ll. 8-10). Some of these epithets are peculiar. Which are the families (or dynasties) of **Kali ?** Can

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX p. 102.

they be **Kalabhras?** We know that **Simha-visnu** of **Pallava** dynasty, who ruled from 575-600 A. D. vanquished [1] **Kalabhras. Vikramaditya I, Vinayaditya** and **Vikramaditya II,** who are the immediate descendants and successors of **Pulakesin II** claim [2] to have defeated **Kalabhras. Kali-Kula** may therefore refer to these South-Indian tribes, which seem to have established petty principalities. There is one point more to be noted. The later Rāṣṭrakūṭas and specially those who had the name of **a-raDhruvja** bore the surname of **Kali-vallabha** [3] which may be translated as the 'master of **Kali** race.'

Probable progenitor of the Rastrakutas.

Dhruva-raja claims to belong to **Adi-Bappuri-vamsa** and this family has been identified with Batpura-family from which **Pulakesin I** and his son Maṅgaleśa had taken their wives. **Dhruva-raja** has been suspected to be the son of **Mangalesa**, for whom he wanted to secure a kingdom. But I think it is not probable that the son of **Mangalesa**, who was killed as we know by **Pulakesin II,** would acknowledge him as his master. Besides, **Dhruva-raja** seems to be a ruler who had newly acquired a hereditary kingdom and who was proud of this acquisition. He mentions that he had secured a (hereditary) kingdom to continue in the lineage of his son. This clearly indicates that he comes from a family which never tasted sovereignty before. **Rastrakutas,** who superseded the **Calukyas** about the beginning of the eighth century, had two or three kings bearing the name of **Dhruva-raja** and curiously enough with the title of Kali-vallabha [3]. It is not improbable that this **Dhruva-raja** of ours was the original progenitor who laid the foundation of a small principality in the beginning of the seventh century, which developed into a great kingdom in a century and half.

[1] Vide Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* p. 49.

[2] Vide Fleet's *Dynasties of the Canarese Districts.*

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 125; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, p. 192; Vol. VI pp. 102 and 242.

TEXT[1]

I

1. स्वास्ति श्रीमतां[2] सकलभु [ुव*] नसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृनिसृष्टमा[3]-
2. तृभिर्[4]सम्यगभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिपालनाधिगतकल्याणपरम्पराणां[5] भगवन्ना-
रायणप्रसा-
3. दसामासादितवर[6] हलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतामनेकाश्वमेधावभृतस्ना-
4. न पवित्रीकृतवपुषा[7] चलुक्यानां कुलमभ्यलंकरिष्णो[8] प्रथितकीर्त्ति[9] श्रीकीर्ति-
वर्म्म[10] पृथिवित्रलभमहा [रा-]

II

5. जस्य प्रियपौत्र[11] प्रणतानेकमहोपतिनकुटतटविलग्नमकरिकाघृष्टपादारविन्दद्वय[12]-
6. स्य प्रतिगतारातिचक्रविध्वंसनविधिविशारदस्य[13] देवद्विजगुरुवृद्धापचायने पितेवचूर
स-[14]
7. त्या श्रये प्रतिहतांश्च श्रीपुलकेशिप्रिथिविवल्लभमहाराज[15] यथारूहसन्मायति [।१] विदिति-[16]
8. मस्तु वल्लभसमक्षावस्तिते विधिवत्[17]सप्रदत्तामन्ताकलिकुल[18]नामनेकसंग्रामसाहसदक्षेण

II *a*

9. निकृष्टमण्डलाग्रासनाथेन स्वबाहुना विपक्षमण्डल[19]निर्जित्य स्वसुतान्वये प्रतिष्ठापि-

१ From the original plates in my possession. २ The *Anusvara* is put after ता as in the present Telugu script and not on the top. ३ Read गोत्राणां ४ Read पुत्राणां. ५ Read मातृभिस्स्व. ६ Read ०तृभिस्सम्व०. ७ There is a superfluous *anusvara* on व ८ Read ०राण. ९ Read ०समासादित०. १० Read ०वपुषां. ११ Read ०ष्णोः. १२ Read ०कीर्तिः. १३ Read ०वर्म्मा. १४ Read ०पौत्रः. १५ Read ०द्वयः. १६ Read विध्वंस० १७ Read ०विशारदः. १८ Read शुः. १९ Read ०योऽ. २० Read ०ज्ञः. २१ Read ०पृथिवि० २२ Read ०राज्ञः. २३ Read यथार्हं. २४ Read विदितमस्तु. २५ Read ०वस्थिते. २६ Read संप्रदत्त. २७ I suppose this must be corrected as ०मन्तः The sign for *dirgha* looks like *repha* also; hence this may be also read as ०मर्न्त. २८ Read कलिकुलानाम०. २९ Read मण्डलं.

10. तराज्यस्थं[30] प्रिथिविक्ष्वराजमाणत्ति[31] मूगमूर्व्वस्तव्याय छाण्डिल्यायनगोत्रस्यं[33] आपस्तम्ब-

11. सूत्रस्य[34] विप्रस्यं[35] वेदशर्म्मण[36] कर्म्मराष्ट्रे इर्वुलिग्रामे अष्टशतं[37]+क्षेत्रम्[38] दतम् बलाक[39] बल्व-

12. ला पूर्व्वत[40] कर्म्मकास्तटाका[41] पश्चिमत[42] कोण्डवे[43] पूर्वथा[43] दाक्षिणत[44] विर्प[45] पथा[46] उत्तरेत[46]

III

13. प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यस[47]वसरे एकविंशति[48] कार्त्तिकमासे महा [नवम्या[49]] बृ [हृ*] स्पतिवारे प्र- [॥*]

14. शस्ते मुहूर्ते [ऽ*] स्याक्तिराज्ञप्ति[50] [॥*] भूमिदानात् त्वि[51]रन्दान्नभूत न भ [वि*] ष्यति [।*] तस्येवं[52]हरणात्पा-

15. पन्नभूत[53] न भविष्यति [॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [।*] यस्य-यस्य यदा भूमि[54]तस्य[55]

16. तस्य तदाफलं [॥*] [त्व]द[56] तोपरदत्ता वायत्नाद्रक्षयुधिष्टिर [।*] महीं[57] महि[58] भुजाश्रेष्ठ दा त्रेभ्र[59]

३० Read पृथिवि०. ३१ Read ०राजवर्म्मणा[ऽ]. ३२ Read ०र्वास्त० ३३ Read ०गोत्राय. ३४ Read ०सूत्राय. ३५ Read विप्राय. ३६ Read वेदशार्म्मणे. ३७ The letter त was originally forgotten and was inserted below the line above. ३८ These two crosses with a dot are the line, one marked on ष्ट and श. ३९ Read बलाकपल्वलं. ४० Read ०तः० ४१ Read ०तटाकः. ४२ Read ०तः. ४३ Read ०र्पथः. ४४ Read तः. ४५ Read ०पथः. ४६ Read उत्तरतः. ४७ Read संवत्सरे. ४८ Read ०विंशत्य. ४९ The lower portions of न and व and the य (or *Kyavadi* as it is called in Telugu) of the conjunct consonant ग्यां are clearly visible and the remaining portions of the letters are broken. ५० Read ०ज्ञप्तिः. ५१ There is some space left between त् and प्र. It seems some letters were originally engraved and scored out. It is not clear. ५२ Read परन्दानान्नभूतं. ५३ Read तस्यैव. ५४ Read ०भूतं ५५ Read ०स्तस्य. ५६ The plate is broken a little; the letters are visible but not clear, some portion of them being broken. ५७ Read ०त्तां. ५८ Read महीं. ५९ Read ०भुजां. ६० The last two letters are not clear. The verse is left incomplete. We know from other inscriptions that दानाच्छ्रेयोऽनुपालनं is the remaining part of it. There seems to be a small line below the last, but the letters cannot be made out.

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 1-5.) Of the famous **Sri Kirti-varmma Prithivi-Vallabha Maharaja**, the ornament of the [lineage] of the **Calukyas**—"Who are glorious, who are of the **Manavya** *gōtra* which is praised throughout the whole world, who are the sons of **Hariti**, who have been nourished by the seven Mothers, who are the mothers of mankind, who have acquired an un-interrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour and protection of **Kartikeya** and who have had all kings made subject to them at the sight of the boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine **Narayana**", who have purified their bodies by bathing at the end of many a horse-sacrifice.

(Ll. 5-7.)—the beloved grandson **Sri Pulakesin Prithivi-Vallabha-Maharaja**—whose twin feet are rubbed by many a stooping sovereign with folded hands (in the form of a *makara*) touching their crowns, who is proficient in the act of destroying the circle of his opposing enemies, who is as brave as his father in honouring Gods, the twice born, the preceptors and the old, who is the abode of truth, whose orders are irresistible;—honours [the deserved] according to merits.

(Ll. 7-10.) Be it known, that in the presence of **Vallabha** was given, in accordance with [śāstric] injunctions, by **Prithivi Duvaraja**, who is death to **Kali-Kula**, who is an expert in showing daring courage in many a battle, who is a master in seizing the neighbouring (or mean) territories (maṇḍalas), who has secured a (hereditory) kingdom to continue in the lineage of his son by defeating with his own hand the group of hostile kings.

(Ll. 10-12.)—To a Brāhmaṇa called **Veda-Sarman** resident of **Atti-Mugamur**, of the **Candilyayan** *gōtra* and **Apastamba-sūtra** in the village of **Irbuli** in **Karma-rastra**, a field measuring eight hundred [square measures]. [Its boundaries are]:—To the east *Ēalāka-palvam* (crane-tank), to the west *Karmakāra-taṭāka* (the tank of the iron-smith), to the south the road [leading] to the city of **Kondveru**, to the north the road [leading] to **Virparu**.

(Ll. 13-14.) This donation was given and the *ājñapti* [appointed] in the twenty-first year of the prosperous and victorious reign, at an auspicious moment, on Thursday, the *Mahānavamī* in the month of *Kārtika*.

(Ll. 14-16.) There was and there will be no gift superior to that of land; there was and there will be no sin, higher than that which accrues by seizing it (the gift of land). Many have gifted away land and many have protected it. The merit belongs to him who chances to be the owner of land for the time being. O, **Yudhisthira**! the best of kings, protect the landed charities whether given by you or by others.

KOPPARAM PLATES OF PULAKEŚIN II

FROM THE COLLECTION OF

MR. K. V. LAKSHMAN RAO, M.A.,
Editor-in-chief, The Telugu Encyclopaedia,
Veda Vilas, Egmore, Madras.

I.a.

II

IIa.



III



EDITORIAL NOTES

We are glad to announce that the two side-Halls of the Institute, the construction of which began on the 25th of July 1921, are almost complete and will soon be formally opened. Our thanks are due in this connection to the Building Committee and the Contractor, whose mutual agreement has been responsible for the speedy execution of the work. With the completion of the Halls the present cry for space will come to an end, at least temporarily, and the Insti[redacted]g-cherished work of [redacted]gree of

thanked Dr. Lèvi. Dr. Lèvi was next taken to the Tata Hall and shewn some old MSS from the MS Library. Dr. Belvalkar gave him an account of the efforts of the Institute to publish old and valuable works and the works published by the Institute since its inception. After the gathering had partaken of the light refreshments, the function came to a close.

* * * * * *

The Gover the Institute the
complete s as formerly
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kindly agreed to our request. We are keenly awaiting his advice and criticism in connection with our work on the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata.

* * * * * *

The Second Volume of the Proceedings of the Oriental Conference, has at last been out. It contains articles, from different sections and the pages have gone up nearly 470. Some scholarly articles could not be included in the volume owing to want of space. Such articles will be published in our 'Annals', if their authors would permit us to do so. The price of the volume is fixed at *Rs. Eight*, (Foreign, 16 shillings.)

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
POONA CITY

REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE BOARD

FOR 1921-22

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA CITY, FOR 1921-22.

From

THE CHAIRMAN,
Executive Board,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

To

THE CHAIRMAN,
Regulating Council,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit the report of the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for the year 1921-22.

2. *Personnel of the Board.*—The old Executive Board consisting of

1. V. K. RAJWADE, M.A., (*Chairman*)
2. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., PH.D.
3. P. D. GUNE, M.A., PH.D., (*Secretary*)
4. K. G. JOSHI, B.A.
5. R. D. KARMARKAR, M.A.
6. N. D. MINOCHER HOMJI, B.A.
7. R. D. RANADE, M.A.
8. N. G. SARDESAI., L.M. & S., (*Treasurer*)
9. N. B. UTGIKAR, M.A.

was replaced, in consequence of the Triennial elections, which took place in June 1921, and the present Executive Board consisting of

1. K. G. JOSHI, B.A., (*Chairman*)
2. R. D. KARMARKAR, M.A., PH.D., (*Secretary*
3. SARDAR K. C. MEHENDALE, B.A., (*Treasurer*)
4. S. G. SATHE, M.A.
5. R. P. PATWARDHAN, M.A.
6. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., PH.D.
7. P. D. GUNE, M.A., PH.D.

8. N. D. MINOCHER HOMJI, B.A.
9. N. B. UTGIKAR, M.A.

came into power on the 6th of July, 1921. Mr. K. G. Joshi having resigned chairmanship in November 1921 owing to impaired eyesight, Prof. S. G. Sathe was elected Chairman on 8th December 1921.

3. *Meetings of the Executive Board.*—During the year under report 39 meetings were called, of which 9 could not be held for want of quorum. We append statistics of attendance, which will speak for themselves..

No.	Name of the member	No. of meetings called	No. of meetings attended	Remarks
1	K. G. Joshi ...	39	12	
2	R. D. Karmarkar ...	39	36	
3	K. C. Mehendale ...	21	14	On the Board since 6th July
4	S. G. Sathe ...	21	9	Do.
5	R. P. Patwardhan ...	21	14	Do.
6	S. K. Belvalkar ...	39	33	
7	P. D. Gune ...	39	none	Ill all through the year.
8	N. D. Minocher Homji	39	13	
9	N. B. Utgikar ...	39	31	

During the meetings held there came up for discussion and disposal questions such as:—Investing balances in fixed deposits; scale of pay, gradations and gratuity for menial servants; rules about arrears from members; Mahābhārata Provident Fund scheme; passing Budgets, Annual and Revised; negotiating loan from Anandashram; terms on which the Bombay Sanskrit Series volumes could be stocked for sale; negotiations for Persian Grant; inviting scholars and institutions in India to send copies of their publications to the International Exhibition arranged by Otto Harrassowitz in Germany nviting Dr. Sylvan Lévi to pay a visit to the Institute; Election regulations, appointing scrutineers, etc., appointing of Departments for the year 1921-22; electing delegates for the 2nd Oriental Conference at Calcutta; reports annual and triennial; approving tenders

for Halls; settling preliminaries about their construction; appointing Supervising and Consulting Engineers; scheme for water-supply arrangements; the receiving of the colony account and the balance from the old colony Committee dissolved on 8th October 1921. As it was felt necessary to regularise the granting of leave to the staff, the Board has appointed a special committee for recommending rules for the purpose.

4. *Financial Statement.*—This will be clear from the statement of Receipts and Expenditure appended. No comment is needed as to the financial position of the Manuscripts and the Publication Departments. The Library and the Persian Departments which are at present considerably hampered for want of funds will, it is hoped, be placed in an improved financial condition only if in addition to the individual donations that the Institute might succeed in securing, the Government generously agree to give a permanent grant of something like Rs. 3 to 5 thousand to the Persian Department. It is hoped that the negotiations which are proceeding in this connection will now be brought to a successful close, thanks to the sympathetic attitude that the Director of Public Instruction, has already evinced for the cause. The Mahābhārata Department, although receiving several annual donations small and large through the liberality of Government, Universities and other Patrons of learning, has been compelled, owing to the very vast nature of the undertaking, to float a permanent loan of Rs. ten thousand. This should really have been met out of a reserve fund which it is high time that the Department should own. In the words of the resolution of the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta the Executive Board begs to invite the attention "of the Governments, Princes, and rich persons of India" (to the fact) "that it is a worthy scheme calculated to advance the cause of Indian scholarship and that it claims the monetary and all other suppport from all." It is to be wished that this encouraging reception and recommendation from a learned and representative body like the Oriental Conference is followed up by a systematic tour of deputations to various states and Governments headed by the distinguished superintendent of the Editorial Committee, the

Chief saheb of Aundh, who has worthily borne his own share of the financial burden of this unique, but responsible enterprise, wherein the scholarship as well as the liberality of India is on trial. Last but not the least, the financial position of the General Department needs serious thought. As will be seen from the statement attached the Department has incurred liabilities to the extent of Rs. 10,437-6-10. It was driven to the necessity of appropriating though temporarily—the whole of the Reserve Fund, the balance of the conference account and other minor deposits, mainly because it was not able to realise the promised donations amounting to about Rs. 20,000 or acquire during the year under report any fresh ones worth mentioning, in spite of the fact that it is to these latter alone that the Institute must always turn for encompassing a progressive realization of its high aims.

5. *The working of the Departments.*—A full idea about the individual departments can be gleaned from the separate departmental reports which are submitted along with this. The points that need special emphasis here are these:—

(i) As regards the working of the General Department, it is satisfactory to note that the rather complicated questions about the distribution, by sale, of plots of land amongst the several 'colonists' and that of effecting a Trust-Deed of the Institute's property in the names of the Trustees already appointed, *viz*: Raosaheb R. T. Kirtane and Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar, bristling as both these questions were with numerous legal technicalities, have made considerable headway during the year under report, thanks to the efforts of a lawyers' committee appointed for the purpose; and we can now expect a permanent and satisfactory solution of the same in the course of the next few months.

(ii) It was really unfortunate that the building of the two side-halls, so very essential to the successful working of the manifold and growing activities of the various departments of the Institute, should have come to a sudden and early stop owing to a difference of opinion

between the Engineer and the Contractor on certain technical points. It is to be hoped that, at least in the interest of the Institute, the difference may be composed and the Halls completed at an early date. Owing to the dismantling of the two small side-rooms which had to be almost the first operation preliminary to the erection of these side-halls on their site, there has been too much congestion and the pressure has only been partially lessened by the renting of some adjoining rooms in a private bungalow.

(iii) No effective steps could, unfortunately, be taken during the year under report for removing the great inconvenience felt by the workers in the Institute as well as by the Curator (who is required to stay on the premises) in consequence of a lack of adequate arrangement for water-supply. This is a matter that will have to be early and seriously dealt with.

(iv) Next as regards the working of the Mahābhārata department, it is a matter of pleasure and pride that the work carried on by the department under the management of Mr. Utgikar the Mahābhārata Secretary, has evoked appreciative replies from Western scholars of note like Jacobi, Hopkins, Lévi, Thomas, Keith, Winternitz, Macdonell and others. This augurs well for the prospect of co-operation between Indian, European and American scholars for the combined edition of the great Epic. Much will naturally depend upon the impression that the tentative edition of the Virāṭa-parvan, now passing through the press will produce on the world of scholars. We certainly have every right to hope for the best.

(v) In view of the fact that the relation between the Institute and the Government of Bombay especially with regard to their grant for the MSS. and the Publication Departments will come up for revision and renewal during the course of the next official year, it is to be noted that the

MSS. Department has continued the tradition of work that had obtained before its transfer, and has worthily supplemented it by pushing to completion the card-catalogue of the MSS. and arranging and carrying through Press a list of over two thousand MSS. acquired by the MSS. Library during the last twenty years. Both these undertakings will, we hope, be completed before the end of the five years of probationary period.

(vi) The publication Department also has done all that was required of it and can now look up with confidence to the permanent acquisition and even an enlargement of the Government grant of Rs. 12,000 (twelve thousand) allowed to it each year for its specific work. Mention is due in this connection to the very large amount of literary labour that devolves upon the Superintendent of the Department especially in the matter of correcting proofs. It is evident that steps will have to be devised, whereby the Superintendent is relieved of at least the major part of this work which is highly taxing and besides purely Honorary.

(vii) It is highly to be wished that the negotiations which are proceeding as to the transfer of the stocking and sales of the old volumes of Bombay Sanskrit Series, from the Government Book Depot to the Institute, will eventually terminate by the transfer to the Institute, not only of the sale and the right of reprint but also the copy-right and the entire management of the whole series. This is a point that the Institute will do well to emphasize when the question of the renewal of its agreement with the Bombay Government comes for consideration in the course of the next year.

(viii) It is also to be wished that taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the renewal of this agreement certain modifications in the constitution of the Institute in the interest of a more efficient carrying out of its several activities,—as suggested by experience of the past four

years—be carried into effect, one such being, possibly, the minimising of the red-tape and formality involved in the distribution of the Executive Board into a number of separate Departments. But these are mere suggestions for future use ; and they have been made just because it may happen that before the Executive Board has another opportunity of making its annual report, the question of the status of the Institute with the Government will already have been determined for good.

6. *Conclusion.*—The first few years in the life of an Institute like ours, are always critical. The Institute has to live, it has to grow, it has to encounter the judgement of the world, it has to sustain the shock of conflicting ideas within as well as without and lead them onward to a helpful harmonious progress. Our Institute may be said to have experienced all these stages and although the haven is not yet in sight, we hope and trust that the worst of the storms have already been weathered and that we can look up now confidently to a period of peaceful and fruitful literary labour which is the only real aim and true justification for the existence of a "Research" Institute.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. G. SATHE,

Chairman, Executive Board,

Bhandakar O. R. Institute.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

B. O. R. INSTITUTE, FOR THE YEAR 1921-22.

EXPENDITURE.

No.	ITEM.	Rs.	As.	P.	REMARKS.
	I. Manuscript Department.				
1	Curator's Pay ...	1,500	0	0	
2	Two Peons' Pay ...	381	0	0	
3	Postage and Stationery ...	143	5	4	
4	Preservation of Mss ...	290	1	3	
5	Miscellaneous ...	54	13	6	
6	Purchase of Mss and Books ...	347	0	0	
7	Purchase of a Cycle ...	100	0	0	
8	Purchase of a Cupboard ...	120	0	0	
9	4% Contribution to the General Department ...	120	0	0	
	MS. DEPTT., TOTAL ...	3,056	4	1	
	II. Publication Department.				
1	Printing of Dvyāsraya Kāvya ...	2,793	8	0	
2	Printing of Anubhāsya ...	2,859	0	0	
3	Printing of Kāvyaprakāsa ...	6,009	4	0	
4	Printing of Annals ...	687	0	0	
5	Printing of R.G.B. Catalogue ...	40	0	0	
6	Card Catalogue ...	1,409	5	9	
7	Proof Reader's Pay ...	760	8	10	
8	Miscellaneous Printing ...	69	15	0	
	Carried over ...	17,684	13	8	

Receipts.—*Continued.*

No.	Item.	Rs.	A.	P.	Remarks.
	Brought over...	35,556	11	8	
	V. General Department.				
1	Opening Balance ...	38,190	5	8	
	(1) Reserve Fund 4,000 0 0				
	(2) Current Balance 1,380 7 11				
	(3) Halls Balance 27,885 3 9				
	(4) Special Fund 3,424 10 0				
	(5) Securities 1,500 0 0				
	38,190 5 8				
2	Annual Subscriptions ...	360	0	0	
3	Sale of Books ...	975	2	0	
4	Water charges from Colonists ...	6	0	0	
5	Miscellaneous ...	86	2	4	
6	Subscriptions other than annual ...	1,265	0	0	10% Of these Subscriptions *Viz.*, Rs. 126 8-0. have been credited to Lib. Deptt.
7	Suspense Account ...	6,270	1	10	
	(1) Deposit from the Contractor 1,258 15 1				
	(2) Colony Deposit 612 13 0				
	(3) Conference 4,304 14 9				
	(4) Miscellaneous 93 7 0				
	6,270-1-10				
8	Securities ...	3,600	0	0	Credited during this year (out of this, Total Securities for 2,600 were acquired at the time of the Working Committee of the Institute. See Day Book Folio 79.
9	4% Contribution from Ms. Deptt.,	120	0	0	
10	4% Contribution from Gen. Deptt.,	480	0	0	
	Gen. Deptt., Total ...	51,352	11	10	
	VI. Mahābhārata Department.				
1	Pant Saheb's Donation ...	3,500	0	0	
2	Burma Government Donation ...	500	0	0	
3	Other Donations ...	2,050	0	0	
4	Recovery of Loans to Staff ...	70	0	0	
5	Loan from Anandashram ...	7,000	0	0	
	Mbh. Deptt., Total ...	13,120	0	0	
	Total Receipts ...	100,029	7	6	

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE
B. O. R. INSTITUTE, FOR THE YEAR 1921-22.

RECEIPTS.

No.	ITEM.	Rs.	A.	P.	REMARKS.
	I. Manuscript Department.				
1	Opening Balance ...	429	3	0	
2	Government Grant ...	3,000	0	0	
3	Suspense Acct. from K. V. Abhyankar for Mss. ...	6	0	0	
	MSS. DEPTT., TOTAL ...	3,435	3	0	
	II. Publication Department.				
1	Opening Balance ...	16,393	2	2	
2	Government Grant ...	12,000	0	0	
3	Recovery of Loan to Staff ...	7	12	0	
4	Suspense Acct. (re. Mahābhāsya Index) ...	297	0	0	
	PUBLICATION DEPTT., TOTAL ...	28,697	14	2	
	III. Library Department.				
1	Opening Balance ...	890	10	6	
2	10% of Subscriptions other than annual ...	126	8	0	
	LIB. DEPTT., TOTAL ...	1,017	2	6	
	IV. Persian Department.				
1	Opening Balance ...	1,906	8	0	Rs. 500 converted into Security, which is included in the total securities.
2	Suspense Acct. Recovery of Advances to Supdt. ...	500	0	0	
	PERSIAN DEPTT., TOTAL ...	2,406	8	0	
	Carried over...	35,556	11	8	

Expenditure—*Continued.*

No.	ITEM.	Rs.	A.	P.	REMARKS.
	Brought over ...	17,634	13	8	
	Publication Dept.—(contd)				
9	Postage ...	77	10	3	
10	Stationery ...	59	2	1	
11	Miscellaneous ...	73	6	6	
12	Contribution to Curator's Pay ...	100	0	0	
13	Travelling allowance ...	286	2	0	
14	Suspense Acct. re Index to Mahabhasya ...	847	0	0	
15	Cupboards ...	264	0	0	
16	4% Contribution to General Deptt.	480	0	0	
	PUB. DEPTT., TOTAL ...	16,815	14	5	
	III. Library Department.				
1	Binding ...	75	0	0	
2	Books ...	431	10	2	
3	Postage and Stationery ...	26	4	4	
	LIB. DEPTT., TOTAL ...	532	14	6	
	IV. Persian Department.				
1	Books and Mss ...	1,399	0	8	
2	Preservation of Mss ...	294	3	1	
3	Premium for the Purchase of Security ...	35	2	4	
4	Travelling Expenses ...	201	14	0	
5	Miscellaneous ...	21	2	1	
6	Suspense Acct. Advance to Supdt.	500	0	0	
	PERS. DEPTT., TOTAL ...	2,451	6	2	
	Carried over ...	22,856	7	9	

Expenditure—*Continued.*

No	ITEM.	Rs.	A	P.	REMARKS.
	Brought over..	22,856	7	2	
	V. General Department.				
1	One Peon's Pay ..	191	0	0	
2	Gardener's Pay ...	191	0	0	
3	Improvement of Garden ...	1	8	0	
4	Sweeper's Pay ...	48	0	0	
5	Lighting and Sanitation ...	54	12	6	
3	Current Water Charges ...	435	9	11	
7	Incidental Charges and Irrigation Charges ...	167	4	6	
8	Furniture ...	5	8	0	
9	Miscellaneous and Printing ...	231	15	0	
10	Legal Expenses (Auditor's Honorarium etc.) ...	115	0	0	
11	Contribution to Curator's Pay ...	100	0	0	
12	Rent and Taxes ..	63	4	11	
13	Postage ...	286	6	3	
14	Stationery ..	120	11	7	
15	Insurance charges ...	400	0	0	
16	Repairs to Buildings ...	...	8	0	
17	Permanent additions and constructions (water tanks bill) ...	587	1	9	
18	Payment of debt ...	15,000	0	0	
19	Interest on debt ...	227	8	0	
20	Miscellaneous (Halls) ...	127	6	0	
21	Construction of Halls ...	4,089	6	9	
	Carried over ...	45,300	6	4	

Expenditure—*Continued.*

No.	ITEM.	Rs.	A.	P.	REMARKS.
	Brought over ...	45,300	6	4	
	General Department—Contd.				
22	Part rent of Prof. Ranade's Bungalow ...	45	0	0	
23	Suspense Account ...	341	7	0	
24	4% Contribution to Library Deptt.	126	8	0	
	GEN. DEPTT., TOTAL ..	22,956	14	2	
	VI. Mahābhārata Department.				
1	Secretary's Pay ...	3,040	0	0	
2	Pension and leave contribution ...	540	0	0	
3	Pay of the staff of Assistants ...	5,921	7	3	
4	Southern Shastri ...	567	11	10	
5	Typist (clerk) ...	540	0	0	
6	Peon ...	148	15	6	
7	Contribution to Curator's Pay ...	100	0	0	
8	Travelling expenses ...	223	4	0	
9	Collation Sheets ...	40	0	0	
10	Transcript and Job work ...	660	7	10	
11	Books and Binding ...	322	8	5	
12	Furniture ...	177	8	0	
13	Postage ...	51	9	6	
	Carried over ...	58,146	13	8	

Expenditure —*Continued.*

No.	ITEM.	Rs.	A.	P.
	Brought over ...	58,146	13	8
	VI. Mahabharata Department — Contd.			
14	Stationery ...	131	4	1
15	Miscellaneous ...	195	12	6
16	Rent of Prof. Ranade's Bungalow...	180	0	0
	MBH. DEPTT., TOTAL ...	12,840	8	11
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE ...	58,653	14	3
	BALANCE ON 1ST APRIL 1922 ...	41,375	9	3
	GRAND TOTAL ...	100,029	7	6

Examined and found correct.

(Sd.) G. S. MARATHEY, M.A., M.I.A.,

Hon. Auditor.

Statement showing liabilities as on 31st March 1922.

No.	Particulars.	Amount Rs.	A.	P.	Remarks.
	I—Deposits.	6,076	10	10	(Without interest).
(i)	*From B. L. Modak*				
	Rs. 200 0 0				Recd. in 1920.
(ii)	*Colony Balance*				
	Rs. 612 13 0				Recd. in Oct., 1921.
(iii)	*From Mr. M. Y. Gowaikar a/c Halls*				
	Rs. 1,258 15 1				Recd. in May 1921. Recd. in Jan., 1922.
(iv)	*Conference Balance*				
	Rs. 4,004 14 9				Recd. in Dec., 1921.
	II—Loans.				
(i)	Loan from Anandashram for Mahābhārata Department	7,000	0	0	(Recd. in Jan, 1922 with interest at 6 per cent).
	Total Liabilities ...	13,076	10	10	

REPORT OF THE REGULATING COUNCIL OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, POONA FOR 1921-22

From

THE CHAIRMAN,
Regulating Council,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Poona.

To

THE PRESIDENT,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Poona.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit the report of the Regulating Council, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for the year 1921-22.

2. *Meetings of the Regulating Council.*—During the year under Report thirteen meetings of the Council were held, and were on the whole very well attended.

3. *Triennial Elections.*—The present Council itself, and the office-bearers of the Institute were elected during the year, and took charge on July the 6th 1921.

4. One of the very interesting events of the past year's work was the election of Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Shāstri Abhyankar as an honorary member of the Institute. The Council would take this opportunity to express its pleasure that Shāstri Abhyankar has been pleased to accept this position. He is recognised as one of the careful and earnest students of Sanskrit and of Sanskrit literature, and it is a great satisfaction to feel that he is ready to place his wide knowledge at the disposal of the Institute.

5. *Construction of new Halls.*—At the beginning of the year a good deal of controversy arose with regard to the placing of the contract by the Executive Board, for the new halls, now under construction. The matter came repeatedly before the Regulating Council and decisions were reached with practical unanimity and the work proceeded.

At a later stage in the construction of the halls, difficulty again occurred between the engineers of the Institute and the contractor in charge of the work, which delayed the completion for seven or eight months. Ultimately all powers in connection with this work were entrusted to a Building Committee consisting of Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, Mr. J. R. Gharpure and Sardar K. C. Mehendale, and thanks to their action, the difficulties have been surmounted and the work is being pushed on with as great rapidity as possible. The construction of the Halls which will cost about Rs. 86,000, has been made possible by generous donations as follows:—

1.	The Trustees of Sir Ratan Tata	... Rs. 25,000
2.	Shet Khetsi Khiasi	... Rs. 25,000
		50,000

We have also a promise from Government that they will contribute half of the cost, not exceeding Rs. 45,000 and it is only as a result of their promise that it has been possible to proceed.

6. *Colony Affairs.*—The relationship between those who had bought building sites on the Institute's estate and the Institute itself had not been defined until the present year, and as a result a number of difficulties had arisen. The Council, therefore, resolved to appoint a Committee of lawyers to settle the legal matters in connection with the colony sale deeds, and to prepare a draft of the Trust Deed of the Institute. This Committee consisted of Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Barrister-at-law, Mr. P. V. Kane and Mr. J. R. Gharpure and such progress has been made that a draft trust deed has been prepared and this with other recommendations will be placed for immediate sanction before the General Body.

7. *Financial Affairs.*—In discussing the financial affairs of the Institute there are grounds on the one hand for satisfaction, and on the other for anxiety. It is with great pleasure that the Council has watched the development of the Persian Department, thanks largely to the earnest devotion of Prof. Minocher Homji. This and all other departments are, however, in need of great additional financial help and it has been necessary to appropriate the whole of

the reserve fund for the current expenses of the Institute. The Council would call for a continuance of the generous help which has brought the Institute in a very few years to its present position as one of the leading centres of Oriental study and research in India. It would especially plead for help in the great literary undertaking—the critical edition of the Mahābhārata—, which it has in hand and which is being so generously supported by the Chief of Aundh. And further additions to the general funds, which will enable the extension of its work to be undertaken, will not only be highly appreciated, but are a necessity for the Institute if it is to take its proper place in India and in the world as a centre of Oriental learning.

8. During the next year the relationship between Government and the Institute will come under review as the term for which the present grants were made expires in 1923. It is hoped that as a result of the negotiations which will be opened with Government the support accorded may be increased and also put on a more permanent basis.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) H. H. MANN,

Vice-Chairman, Regulating Council,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Poona.

POONA, JUNE 23RD, 1922.

I

REPORT OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA DEPAPTMENT FOR 1921—22

The work of looking to the administration and submitting the report of the Mahābhārata Department was formerly done by the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee consisting of (1) K. G. Joshi (Chairman) and (2) S. K. Belvalkar (3) R. P. Patwardhan (4) R. D. Karmarkar (5) N. B. Utgikar as members, but by resolution No. 2 (viii) passed by the Executive Board at its meeting held on the 10th of July 1921, the present Mahābhārata Department was brought into existence, it being understood that this department would look into the financial and administrative part of the work, hitherto done by the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee.

Mr. K. G. Joshi having resigned the Chairmanship in November 1921, Prof. S. G. Sattle was added as member and elected Chairman of the Department by Resolution No. 2 of the Executive Board dated 8th December 1921.

2. Five meetings of the department have been held since the date of its inception, two of them being adjourned for want of quorum. The business dealt with referred mainly to the revised Budget of the Department for the year and framing the budget for the new year and such administrative matters as sanctioning leaves of the staff of the Department etc. The Department has also sanctioned that the printing of the tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan be entrusted to the Aryabhushan Press.

3. The accounts of the Department for the year under report will be found printed elsewhere. The total expenditure of the Department during the year under report is Rs. 12,840-8-11, and the total income, Rs. 13,120-0-0.

As most of the annual donations promised for the Mahābhārata work generally become due in March *i.e.*, just at the end of the official year, it has been decided by the Department that a loan of up to Rs. *ten thousand* should be maintained by the Department for some time. This proposal has been duly submitted to the Executive Board and has received their approval. The present liabilities of the Department are Rs. 10,437-6-10, the details of which are shown in the Budget.

4. During the year under report two more promises of annual donations have been secured : one of Rs. Six hundred for five years from the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwar of Baroda and the other of Rs. 1,000/- (one thousand) annually till the Mahābhārata work is completed, from the Government of Madras. With regard to the former it may be mentioned that a deputation of the members of the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee had waited upon the Diwan of Baroda early in the year under report, and as a result of that interview, the Baroda Government has been pleased to sanction the present annual grant. Special mention must be made in this connection of the efforts of Barrister Vishwanatha P. Vaidya. It was also his intercession which has been mainly instrumental in securing another donation of Rs. Two thousand, *viz.* that from the Bhavanagar Durbar. In sanctioning their annual grant of Rs. 1,000/- (one thousand) the Madras Government have expressed a desire that ways and means could be found by the Institute for combining its Mahābhārata work with the European project. The grateful thanks of the Institute are due to the Government of Madras, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwar and to the Council of Administration of the Bhavanagar State for their respective contributions to the Mahābhārata Funds of the Institute.

The following statement shows all the annual grants secured for the Mahābhārata department up to date.

No.	Name of the Grant and Period	Amount per annum
1	Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi (till a sum of Rs. one Lac is made, beginning with 1919-20.)	Rs. 5,000
2	The University of Bombay (for five years beginning with 1920-21.)	Rs. 3,000
3	The Government of Burma (for eight years beginning with 1920-21.)	Rs. 500

No.	Name of the Grant and Period	Amount per annum
4	The Government of Bombay (till the work is completed, beginning with 1920-21.)	One third of previous year's expenditure subject to a maximum of Rs. 6,000/-.
5	The Government of Madras (till the work is completed beginning with 1921-22.)	Rs. 1,000
6	The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda (for five years beginning with 1921-22.)	Rs. 600

As completing this part of the report, it may be mentioned that efforts are being made by the department and must be perseveringly maintained for putting the work financially on a thoroughly sound basis.

5. The Mahābhārata work of the Institute formed the subject of a special resolution passed in the General concluding sitting of the Second Oriental Conference held at Calcutta on the 29th January last and the following four days. A brief report summarizing the present financial and literary position of the Institute's efforts for the Mahābhārata work was presented by Mr. Utgikar at the sitting of the Conference, mentioned above, and the conference unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"The Second Oriental Conference has received with approval the report of the work done hitherto by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the critical and scientific edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by it under the patronage of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi B.A., Chief of Aundh and in wishing it all success and lending it all literary support brings to the notice of the Governments, Princes, and rich persons of India that it is a worthy scheme calculated to advance the cause of Indian scholarship and that it claims the monetary and all other support from all."

In this connection it may also be mentioned that the Institute's attempts for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata have evoked from Sir Asutosh Mookerji in his address as Chairman of the Second Oriental Conference a very glowing appreciation of our work and a very correct estimate of our immediate requirements. (See Calcutta Review for February 1922.)

6. *Staff* :—Besides the Secretary Mr. Utgikar, the staff consists of 11 assistants, five of them permanent and 6 probationers. Of these one is a graduate (Mr. Tadpatrikar on Rs. 80/- P. M.), three under-graduates (one on Rs. 60/- and two on Rs. 50/-), and the remaining seven are shastris, two on Rs. 50/- (one of these two being a Madrasi shastri, knowing all the principal scripts of the South), three on Rs. 45, and two on Rs. 40/-. Other details of the Mahābhārata Department and its work will be found in the report of the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee.

II

REPORT OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA EDITORIAL COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1921-22.

2. The personnel of the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee is given elsewhere.

3. On the 10th July, 1921 the Executive Board passed a resolution (No. 2, viii of that date's meeting) creating a Mahābhārata Department and relieved the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee of administrative and financial functions thither-to exercised by it.

4. Three meetings of the Mahābhārata Editorial Committee were held during the year under report. The first meeting disposed of certain minor administrative matters. At the second meeting the Chief of Aundh read a paper on the " Lines to be followed in drawing the illustrations in connection with the edition of the Mahābhārata " undertaken by the Institute. This paper has now been published in the Annals of the Institute, Vol. III part I. page 1 ff. with illustrations and is also being sent to experts in the matter to invite opinions, suggestions and criticism. At the third meeting the Committee agreed that the tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan should be printed and also decided what matter should be included in that edition. The selection of the Press for printing the edition was left to the Mahābhārata Department. The Aryabhushan Press of Poona has been selected by that Department and the first proofs have been received quite recently. The whole edition should now be out within a few months. Besides, the text and various readings the edition would contain notes on the text and an Introduction and a few sample pictures. The preparation of the text with the readings and the appendices of additional verses has been completed and the Secretary Mr. Utgikar has now been working at the remaining part of the work. The combined effect of Dr. Thomas's visit and his personal acquaintance with the Institute's work on the Mahābhārata edition and the paper read on that occasion has been, to judge from the letters received, to create favourable atmosphere for our work and for opening formal negotiations with the European scholars for

co-ordinating the two projects. This is a task to which the Institute will have to address itself in the next year. Suggestions have also been received from responsible quarters that a comprehensive and upto-date catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Mahābhārata should be immediately undertaken. A part of this work has already been accomplished (see last year's report: Annals Vol. III, Reports, page 33). This and an attempt to tackle the text of the first two Adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan (the Anukramaṇi and the Parvasangraha Parvan) are interesting and important questions that require early attention.

5. *Collation work.*—The following collation work has been done during the year under report.

No.	Parvan.	Adhyayas.	Total No. of verses collated.	No of MSS. collated from.
1.	Adiparvan ...	95-100	318	5
	,,	123-140	877	5
	,,	185-234	1,536	5
	Bhisma ...	1 164	2,900	6
	Asvamedha ...	1-19	598	8
	,,	52-73	663	
	Asramavasa ...	1-39 (complete)	1,105	7
	Mausala ...	1-8 (complete)	292	9
	Mahaprasthana.	1-3 (complete)	111	5
	Svargarohana ...	1-6 (complete)	317	5
			8727	45

This year's net work in this direction is therefore the collation of just a little less than 9,000 verses from 45 different Manuscripts. The three year's collation work thus comes roughly to a total of 19,000 verses from 70 Manuscripts. Excluding Harivaṅśa, the Mahābhārata proper contains 84,000 verses. Of these we have collated more then one fifth or just a little less than one fourth from 75 independent complete Manuscripts.

6. Other details about the Mahābhārata Department and its work will be found in the report of the Mahābhārata Department.

III

REPORT OF THE MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT

FOR 1921-22

2. *Personnel of the Department.*—The Department consists of the following persons:—

(1) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (Ex-Officio Supdt.)
(2) Sardar K. C. Mehendale.
(3) Prof. R. P. Patwardhan.
(4) Prof. Minocher Homji.

3. *Meetings of the Department.*—Only two meetings of the Department were held during the year for framing the budgets, adopting the reports, and transacting other routine work of the Department.

4. *Financial Statement.*—This will be found elsewhere. No comments or explanations as to individual items of income and expenditure seem to be called for.

5. *Loans and Returns of Manuscripts.* —The details of these are shown in the usual six tabular statements. A brief view of these transactions will be obtained from the following comparative statement.

	1920-21	1921-22
(1) Manuscripts lent to Indian Scholars	... 79	90
(2) Do European Do	... 10	1
(3) Manuscripts returned by Indian scholars	... 74	59
(4) Do European Do	... 21	Nil.
(5) Manuscripts still with Indian scholars	... 63	117
(6) Do European Do	... 20	21

Besides these, two MSS. were procured from the Central Library, Baroda, for the use of the members of the Institute who had requested to procure their loans.

6. *Visitors to Library.*—About 30 scholars visited the Manuscript Library for purposes of occasional reference and study, some of them continuing their visits for prolonged periods.

7. The Manuscripts newly acquired for the Library by transcript and purchase are shown in Appendix G. Their total number is 28 and the amount spent in acquiring them is Rs. 218-7-9.

8. The Manuscripts list of new acquisitions, which was given to a local press for printing, will take a few more months yet, before it can be issued to the public. The delay is regretted but was inevitable.

9. Owing to the continued absence of Mr. Godbole, the Head clerk of the Institute on sick-leave and the consequent pressure of work that devolved on the two persons employed in the preparation and completion of the card-index for the Manuscript Library, not much progress can be reported in this branch of the Department's activity during the present year.

10. The Manuscripts Library was subjected to a thorough examination at the end of the year and I am glad to report that no Manuscript has been found missing. But owing to the crowded condition of the Hall in which the Manuscripts Cupboards have to be kept, traces of white ant infection were detected in one of the cupboards at the time of the periodic cleansing of its contents. There has been no serious damage done except to one not very important Manuscript. But it was duly forestalled, and all the Manuscripts suspected of infection were carefully segregated and fumigated. And steps have been taken for an inspection and cleansing of every single cup-board at least once every month. The evil can be effectively got rid of only after the removal of the MSS. to the New Hall where they could be properly arranged and inspected.

IV

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT

FOR 1921—22

2. *Personnel of the Department.*—The Department, at present, consists of

(1) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (*Chairman*)
(2) Prof. K. V. Abhyankar.
(3) Dr. P. D. Gune.
(4) Dr. R. D. Karmarkar.
(5) Sardar K. C. Mehendale.

3. *Meetings of the Department.*—Three meetings of the Department were held during the year under report, when there came up for discussion, questions of normal routine such as settling the prices of publications, passing ordinary and revised budgets and annual report, approving press-tenders, sanctioning Authors' proposals for new works to be undertaken for publication, distribution of copies of the Institute's publications and the formulation of a free exchange-list of scholars and institutions and so forth. The only resolution that needs to be here particularly alluded to, because of its general interest is the following:—(i) That a concession of 12½ p.c. off the published price of the Institute's publications (*i.e.* of such works the sale proceeds of which accrue to the Institute) be allowed to members of the Institute buying books worth more than Rs. 10/- in one purchase.

4. *Financial statement.*—This will be found elsewhere. It does not stand in need of special comments or explanations except the item called "Suspense Account" which represents an advance made to the compilers of the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya Index for clerical and other assistance from out of the honorarium that would be due to them after the work is completed.

5. *Bombay Sanskrit Series, Old pledges.*—Out of the 16 old pledges one completed work, *viz.* Dvyāśrayakāvya, part ii and half of another (Aṇubhāṣya) were completed and issued during the year under report. There remain now 11 yet to be completed. Six of these 11 *viz.* Syādvādamañjarī, Gauḍavaho, Kāvyādarśa, Aṇubhāṣya,

part 2, Kavyālankārasārasangraha, and Prakriyākaumudī are actually with the press in varying grades of completion. Of the remaining five, the press-copies of 3 *viz.* Tarkabhāṣa, Āpastamba-dharmasūtra and Vyavahāramayūkha are practically completed and will be placed in the hands of the printers in a couple of months' time. The press-copies of two works *viz.* Mṛchakaṭika part ii, and Nirukta part ii are not yet ready, the editors having asked for a further period of extension.

6. *Bombay Sanskrit Series.—Works referred by Government for revision and reprint.* Out of the 11 works on hand for revision at the commencement of the year under report one, *viz.* Kāvyaprakāśa was completed and paid for during the year under report. One (Ṛgveda Hymns, second selection) is passing through press and is expected to be completed in a couple of months time. The press-copy of one more work (Nyāyakośa) has been received. The remaining 8 works, *viz.* Handbook to the study of Ṛgveda part I, Rājataraṅginī parts 1,2, and 3, Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya, Kadambarī part 2 and Deśināmamālā, are not yet ready, one of them (Kādambari part 2) being not yet definitely assigned. During the year under report only one work, *viz.* Sārṅgadharapaddhati, was referred for revision and the consideration of this has been postponed for the present.

7. *The Oriental Hindu Series.*—Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar's works were originally estimated to run into 2 volumes, but it has now been resolved to issue the same in 4 volumes, the first two volumes being likely to be placed in the Printer's hands within a couple of months. Further, in addition to the eight works (Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha, Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, Bṛhatsamhitā, Śābarabhāṣya, Sulbasūtra, Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya English Translation, Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya word-index, and Sloka and Tantravārtika), undertaken in previous years, during the year under report six new works were taken up, *viz* Gautamasūtra with Nyāyabhāṣya, Āpadevī, Kāśikā with extracts from Nyāsa and Padamañjarī, word-index to Taittirîyasamhitā, Madhvabhāṣya with Sudhā, and an essay by Mr. P. V. Kane to be entitled "Historical Introduction to Ancient Hindu Law." Of the 18 works the liability for which has thus been definitely

undertaken by the Institute, one *viz.* Sarvadarśansaṅgraha will be completed and issued in about four months, the press-copy of another Taittirīyasamhitā Index is already received and handed over to the Press. The others will take longer periods for completion. It would be advisable now not to incur fresh liabilities until a few more of these works are completed at least in press-copies.

8. *Miscellaneous Publications.*—The MSS. list is passing through the press. It was decided to postpone for a time the publication of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar's Library catalogue.

9. *The Annals of the Institute.*—During the year under report were issued volume II part ii and volume III, part i. The expenditure incurred on account of the former is Rs. 687. The latter will be paid for during the next year.

10. *Total out-turn.*—The Chairman of the Department examined the proofs of 1,755 pages of 8 different works now being printed at five different presses. The work consumes a good deal of the Chairman's private time. The Proof-reader, whose pay is shown in the budget, was during the major portion of the year, absent on sick-leave, and he has also to attend to considerable office-work in addition.

11. *Sale proceeds.*—The total amount realised during the year is as follows:—

Kāvyaprakāśa.	Rs.	790-14-0
Annals.	Rs.	95-0-0
		885-14-0

The sale proceeds have been made over to the General Department. Next year more works *viz.* Rgveda Hymns, 2nd selection and Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha are to be stocked and the work of looking to the sales of all these is likely to involve considerable time and trouble, especially, if, as is expected in the near future, the stocking and sales of the entire B. S. Series is handed over to this Institute. Time has, therefore, come for the Institute to make definite arrangements for managing this growing business by opening a separate Sales-department, which can be achieved the more easily only after the relations between the Department and Government are finally

fixed on a permanent basis. The Department hopes that its working during the four out of the five years of probation will be found to have been satisfactory and that it can now confidently look up to the time when these relations would come up for reconsideration towards the end of the next official year.

V.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT FOR 1921—22

2. *Personnel of the Department.*—The department consisted of:—

1. Dr. P. D. Gune.
2. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar,

and 3. Dr. N. G. Sardesai.

till the 6th of July 1921, when new elections were made and the Department now consists of:—

1. Dr. R. D. Karmarkar. (*Secretary*)
2. Sardar K. C. Mehendale. (*Treasurer*)
3. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
4. Prof. S. R. Bhagawat. (*Co-opted*)
5. Prof. V. R. Joshi. (*Co-opted*)

the two latter being co-opted for the year ending July 1922.

3. *Meetings of the Department.*—During the year under report ten meetings were held. Among the important items considered were the following:—(1) Consideration of the tenders of the Halls; (2) a number of the minor changes in the detailed construction of the Halls; (3) preparation of an estimate for a scheme of water-supply and the framing of the annual revised Budgets.

4. *Building Operations.*—About the middle of October 1921, the Regulating Council by a resolution took away from the purview of the General Department the building operations of the Halls which work was made over to the "Special Building Committee" consisting of Diwan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, Mr. J. R. Gharpure and Sardar K. C. Mehendale. The Building work commenced on the 25th of July 1921 but it came to a stop on the 18th of September owing to some difference of opinion between the Contractor and the Consulting Engineer and the work has not yet been recommenced. The whole matter has been referred to the Building Committee, which has not taken any final steps as yet.

5. *Financial Statement.*—This will be found in the appendix. The debt of Rs. 15,000, which the Institute owed to Mr. R. N. Sardesai, was paid out and the Regulating Council authorised the

Executive Board to negotiate a loan for an equal amount or less. The Liabilities at the beginning of the year were :—

(1) Rs. 15,000-0-0 Loan from R. N. Sardesai.
(2) Rs. 200-0-0 Deposit from B. L. Modak.

At the end of the year the liabilities are as under :—

(1) Rs. 200- 0-0 Deposit from B. L. Modak.
(2) Rs. 612-13-0 Colony Deposit.
(3) Rs. 4,004-14-9 Conference Deposit.
(4) Rs. 4,316- 4-0 Reserve Fund.

9,133-15-9

No money out of the promised Jain Donation was received during the year, nor also the balance of Rs. 10,000 due from the Khetsi Khiasi Donation. It is highly desirable that a vigorous attempt be made to secure these donations. The year under report has been peculiarly unpropitious to the Institute in the matter of securing funds, only a sum of Rs. 200 being secured from new life members as subscribers.

The membership of the Institute rose from 284 to 321 during the year under report.

VI

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY DEPARTMENT FOR 1921—22

2. *Personnel of the Department* :—

(1) Prof. S. G. Sathe.
(2) Sardar K. C. Mehendale.
(3) Mr. N. B. Utgikar.
(4) Prof. R. P. Patwardhan.

3. The Library Committee held two meetings during the year to consider additions to the Library and other matters in connection with the Department. 196 volumes were added to the Library during the year. As a very large part of the sum budgeted for at the beginning of the year did not actually come in, it was impossible to do more.

VII

REPORT OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT FOR 1921—22

2. *Personnel of the Department* :—

(1) Sardar K. C. Mehendale. (*Chairman*)
(2) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
(3) Dr. P. D. Gune.
(4) Dr. R. D. Karmarkar.

3. It is to be regretted that owing to want of space all idea about holding lectures and classes had to be abandoned during the year, although the necessary arrangements for holding classes and lectures in Avesta were practically completed through the sympathy and assistance promised by Sardar Dastur A. Nosherwan of Poona and others. It is hoped that with the erection of the new Halls the Department will have a better account of its activities to render in the forthcoming year.

VIII

REPORT OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU FOR 1921—22

2. The Personnel of the Bureau consists of:—

(1) Prof. S. G. Sathe. (*Chairman*)
(2) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
(3) Prof. R. P. Patwardhan.
(4) Sardar K. C. Mehendale.
(5) Prof. N. D. Minocher Homji.

Mr. K. G. Joshi resigned chairmanship of the Mahābhārata Department and consequently ceased to be a member.

3. During the year under report Twelve queries were asked and due replies to all of them were given. The queries touched a variety of fields such as, Sanskrit literature, Philosophy, History, Numismatics, Ancient Economics, Bibliography etc.

It appears the department is answering a felt need of the world of students and research-workers.

IX

REPORT OF THE PERSIAN DEPARTMENT FOR 1921—22

2. *Personnel of the Department.*—The Department at present consists of

(1) Prof. N. D. Minocher-Homji (*Chairman*).
(2) Sardar K. C. Mehendale.
(3) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
(4) Prof. M. T. Patwardhan (*co-opted*).

3. *Meetings of the Department.*—It was not found necessary to hold any regular meetings of the Department as the members could be readily approached personally and through circulars whenever necessary.

4. *Search for MSS.*—During the year under report the Superintendent visited Broach, Baroda, Cambay and Ahmedabad for search of MSS. He was able to acquire in all 71 MSS. A list of these as well as of 70 MSS obtained from Kashmir and other sources not mentioned in the First Report, is appended to this report. In this connection I have to acknowledge the help rendered by Mr. C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., Mr. Otto Rothfeld, I.C.S., Sir M. N. Mehta, Dewan of Baroda, Mr. Namjoshi, Administrator of Cambay, and Khan Bahadur D. Edulji of Ahmednagar.

5. *Cataloguing and Preservation of MSS.*—The total number of MSS. acquired by the Department since its inception now numbers 246. As some of these MSS. were found to have been infected by white ants they had to be carefully segregated and fumigated. Also the services of Mr. R. S. Nagarwala were engaged about five months for preparing a list of these MSS. The MSS., not being yet completely catalogued and arranged on shelves, cannot be loaned out to scholars. But it is hoped that with the erection of the Persian Hall and the anticipated acquisition by transfer of the Government collections of Persian MSS. in Bombay, the Department will before long enter upon a career of useful activity like its sister Department of Sanskrit MSS.

6. *Financial Statement.*—This will be found in the appendix. The Department was unable to acquire new donations during the

year under report and owing to want of funds it had to abandon one or two useful projects that it had outlined for itself. It was not feasible to turn to the Institute for financial assistance by special grants, and the negotiations in connection with a Government grant on the lines of that given by it to the Sanskrit MSS. Department are still pending. It is hoped that the Department will have all its expectations in these matters adequately fulfilled during the next year, especially in view of the sympathetic atitude taken by Government when a deputation waited upon the Director of Public Instruction on 30th March 1922, in this connection.

The nucleus of a reference library in Avesta, Persian and Arabic has been already created by the acquisition by purchase and otherwise of 23 volumes of printed books.

7. *The aims and needs of the epartment.*—The Department is one of the youngest Department of the Institute. It has opened out a new line and that it came now too late in the field and has met a real want has been borne out by the sympathetic and encouraging appreciation of its activity that it has evoked from no-less scholar than Sir Richard Temple who in the February issue of the Indian Antiquary writes as follows:—"Annals vol. I, part ii, at pp. 201 ff. is the First report on the search for Avesta, Persian and Arabic manuscripts by Prof. Nadirshah Dorabji Minocher-Homji. I wish to draw attention to this very valuable work which I feel sure all those interested in Indian Research will heartily welcome. It is specially interesting to know that many invaluable documents will in this way find a home in the Bhandarkar Institute."

It rests with the Institute, the Government and the appreciative public to establish this Department on a firm financial footing so as to justify the comprehensive name "Oriental" which this Institute has assumed.

LIST OF AVESTA, PAHLAVI, ARABIC AND PERSIAN MSS. NEWLY ADDED

Sad-dar-Nazm.
Persian Khordeh Avesta.
Pandnameh Adarbad.
Nirangistan.
Vendidad (3 copies).
Tuhfat ul Iraqain.
Diwani-i- Saib.
Sharf Nameh-i-Nizami.
Divan-i-Salik.
Makhzan ul Asrar-i-Nizami.
Bayaz ul Ashar.
Ismai-Sharifeh.
Bustan.
Divan-i-Mobid and Inshae Aql-afzai.
Tibb-i-Manzum-i-Shehabi.
Divan-i-Hakim Sanai.
Khusru Shirin-i-Nizami.
Nejat ul Musulmin.
Divan-i-Kamal.
Divan-i-Zahuri.
Divan-i-Anwari.
Laili va Majnun-i- Jami (2 copies).
Hamleh Haidari-i-Bazil.
Gulistan.
Divan-i-Urfi.
Mantiq ut Tair-i-Attar.
Yusuf' va Zuleikha-i-Jami.
Divan-i-Saqqa.
Matla ul Anvar-i-Khusrao.
Tarikh-i-Kashmir-i-Sayyadullah.
Kangareh Noshirwan.
Zarthusht Nameh.
Tarikh-i-Humayuni.
Sirat-un-Nabi.
Meraj-ul-Nabuvvati Muin-Farahani.
Tarikh-i-Kashmir-Fazlullah Kashmiri.
Raozat us Safa (4 volumes).
Tarikh-i-Firozeshahi.
Revayet-i-Farmanfarmai Khambayet.
Waqa't-i-Kashmiri-i-Khwaja A'zam.
Kanz ul Asrar-i-Muhammad Badakhshani.
Risalet-i-Ayyam-i-Hafteh va Mah-i-M. Baqir.
Tarkibat-i-Moalajat-i-Amraz va Shafakhani.
Kitab-i-Shafakhani.
Ayeen ul Hayet by Mujair M. Kabir.
Jama' Baghdadi by Mir Muhammud Dailami.
Mukhtasir Kitab-i-Zakhireh.
Kitab-i-Advieh.
Zakhireh Khwarezmshahi.
Mavaid ul Fuzala.
Hidayet ul Nahv.
Insha-i-Abul Fazal, Vol. 1.
Insha-i-Yusufi.
Murshid ul 'Avaam.
Miftah us Salat.
Kitab dar beyan i Sifat-i-Imam.
Chehel Hadis.
Tabsirat ul Avvam.
Shayest va Nashayesht.
Hayat ul Quloob.
Ayar-i-Danish (2 copies).
Jama' ul Hikayat.
Shareh 'Qasaid-i-Barda'.
Jama' ul Muajezat.
Fal Nameh.
Salotri and Qifayeh Mansoorieh.
Risalet Nujum, Khulasat ul Sarf and 9 other Essays.
Sarf-i-Mir and others.
Arais-i-Abkar.
Kaifiat-i-A'mal-i-Maha-i-Rajjab va Sha'ban va Ramazan.
Kitab Mubin.
Miftah ul Jinan.
Khulasat ul Hisab.
Miskat.

LIST OF AVESTA, PAHLAVI, ARABIC AND PERSIAN MSS. NEWLY ADDED—*contd.*

Hidaya.
Kitab us Shafa, Chapter XIII.
Kitab-i-Dua (2 copies).
Quran.
Futuhat-i-Abbasi.
Kiyamet Nameh.
Fazail-i-Khulafa.
Kitab us-Salat
Tanbih ul Gafelin.
Kissas ul Ambia.
Qoodoori.
Sarf va Nahv.
Kitab fi-biyan-i-Ahkam.
Faraziat nameh.
Kitab ul Tawheed.
Yazeshne (complete with Home Ritual.)
Afrini Gahambar.
Three Afrins.
Vandidad Fargaradh I.
Hormazd Khodayeh and Hoshbam with commentary.
Yeezashui, Hah I to XVI.
Vandidad Fargarad I to IV.
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Chehar Fasl-i-Kashmir.
Kitab-i-Qarabadin.
Masnavi Maanavi, Book I.
Insha Nameh.
Makhzan ul Asrar-i-Nizami.
Ashirvad (Pazend).
Afringan.
Risalayeh Sattyeh Zarvariyeh.
Munajat-i-Dastur Darab Pahlan (2 copies).
Hatim Nameh.
Mino Ram Yast.
Khaliq Bari by Amir Khusrao.
Risala 'Aitimad-ul-Mureedeen.
Khordeh Avesta (Persian).
Afrin-i-Mazd with Nirangs.
Munajat-i-Mulla Firuz.
Jam-i-Kaikhusroo.
Kitabi Khistab.
Shareh Sadur.
Jogh Bashisht.
Tazkirat us Shua'ra.
Gulzar-i-Kashmir.
Saqi Nameh-i-Zahuri.
Tahzib ul Akhlak.
Dabistan Nameh.
Aqool-i-Ashara.
Bukhari Shareef.
Shareh Qasaid Saba.
Shareh Talkhis.
Fiqq-i-Akbar-i-Imam Shafi.
Avsaf ul Ashrak.
Waqai Jehangiri.
Zad ul Musafarin.
Shareh Bhagvat Gita.

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अ a, आ ā, इ i, ई ī, उ u, ऊ ū, ऋ ṛ, ॠ ṝ, ऌ ḷ, ए e, ऐ ai, ओ o, औ au; क् k, ख् kh, ग् g, घ् gh, ङ् ṅ; च् c, छ् ch, ज् j, झ् jh, ञ ñ; ट् ṭ, ठ् ṭh, ड् ḍ, ढ् ḍh, ण् ṇ; त् t, थ् th, द् d, ध् dh, न् n; प् p, फ् ph, ब् b, भ् bh, म् m; य् y, र् r, ल् l, व् v, श् ś, ष् ṣ, स् s, ह् h, क्ष् kṣ; *visarga* ḥ, nasalised म् as in संयम ṁ, nasalised न् as in मीमांसा ñ. Additions to or alterations in this system (required for transliterating words from Prākrit, Pāli, Avesta, ect.,) will be permitted sparingly and upon previous consultation only.

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ANNALS OF THE
BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE

1922—23

JANUARY 1923

THE BHAKTI-SŪTRAS OF NĀRADA AND THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

A Study in Parallelism of Thought and Expression

P. K. GODE

Introductory.

The avowed object of the Bhakti-Sūtras of Nārada is to expound and elucidate the doctrine of '*bhakti*.' This is clear from the very first Sūtra which runs: अथातो भक्ति व्याख्यास्यामः (Now, therefore, we shall expound the doctrine of devotion), quite in the fashion of the Brahmasūtras commonly ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa. To the student of the Gītā the 84 Sūtras of Nārada would appear to be a mere repetition in Sūtra style of some passages of the Gītā bearing on the doctrine of 'bhakti.' It is the purpose of the present enquiry to see how far the impression derived from a cursory perusal of the Nārada Sūtras is corroborated by a close study of the parallelism of thought and expression which strikes the reader.

Authorship and age of the Sūtras.

Though it cannot be maintained with any degree of authenticity or accuracy that Nārada was the actual composer of the Sūtras he is at least responsible for the contents as is clear from the words: इदं नारदप्रोक्तम् (this doctrine expounded by Nārada) of the last Sūtra. Sūtra 19th refers to Nārada's specific opinion in conclusion of the opinions of other persons regarding the characteristic marks of 'bhakti.' Mythology represents Nārada as one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā the Creator. Sūtra 30th mentions the opinion of Brahma-Kumāra regarding the self-sufficient character of 'bhakti.' Evidently Nārada is meant. Except these references there is no other mention of or allusion to his name. Nothing definite is known regarding the age of the composition of these Sūtras. It seems probable, however, that they belong to the post-Gītā period of Sanskrit literature. In Sūtra 83 several teachers* of 'bhakti' are mentioned, in support of Nārada's teachings. Among these 'bhaktyācāryas' or teachers of devotion Śāṇḍilya is mentioned. He is also mentioned in Sūtra 18. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Śāṇḍilya of the Sūtras is none but the author of the Bhakti-Sūtras, which commonly go by his name. Sūtra 83 of the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras runs thus:— स एकान्तभावः गीतार्थप्रत्यभिज्ञानात्

This mention of the Gītā by Śāṇḍilya in his Sūtras proves that Śāṇḍilya belongs to the post-Gītā period and the mention of Śāṇḍilya's name in Nārada Sūtra 18 is sufficient to prove the posteriority of the Nārada Sūtras to the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras. So the three works would stand in the chronological order thus:— (1) Gītā; (2) Śāṇḍilya Sūtras; (3) Nārada Sūtras.

If our interpretation of the foregoing facts is correct it is easy to explain the parallelism noticeable between the Gītā and the Nārada Sūtras. We have little evidence to set forth any inferences regarding the identity of the Nārada of the Bhakti-Sūtras

* These are:—1-Kumāra; 2-Vyāsa; 3-Suka; 4-Śāndilya; 5-Garga 6-Visnu; 7-Koundilya; 8-Udbhava; 9-Vāruni; 10-Bali; 11-Hanumat 12-Bibhīsana.

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with the Nārada mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas or the Nārada of tradition. It is also difficult to maintain the identity of the Nārada of the Bhakti-Sūtras with the Nārada of the Nārada Pañcarātra. Certain it is, however, that he was a teacher of devotion or a 'bhaktyācārya' like other teachers whose opinions he quotes in his Sūtras. His work gives us a fine psychological analysis of the sentiment of 'bhakti' while that of Śāṇḍilya deals with the philosophical side of 'bhakti.'

Nature of parallelism.

The parallelism noticeable is of two kinds: (1) parallelism of thought; and (2) parallelism of expression. The first kind being subjective is not of much critical value as we notice this sort sometimes between some of the Eastern and Western thinkers between whom there had been no connection in space and time. We, therefore, rely mostly on the second sort, which is more objective and hence reliable from a historical point of view.

We shall, therefore, take up every Sūtra of Nārada and try to see how far it is original in conception and execution and if it is in no way original, to point out from the Gītā, words, expressions or passages which bear close resemblance to it or in certain cases seem to be borrowed verbatim from the Gītā and turned into the laconic prose of the Sūtras.

Possibility of a common source for the Nārada-Sūtras and the Gītā, discussed.

The Gītā is nowhere mentioned by name in the Nārada Sūtras and though the latter work may belong to the post-Gītā period and though there might be some parallelism between the two works there still remains the possibility of a common source on which both the Gītā and the Nārada Sūtras might have drawn. This mode of argument is convincing enough but shall have to be rejected on the following grounds :—

(1) It will be noticed during the course of the present enquiry that the degree of parallelism between the Gītā and the Nārada Sūtras is such as to overweigh the degree of possibility of a common source for both the works.

(2) The parallelism is more objective than subjective and hence reliable to warrant an inference that the Nārada Sūtras have borrowed largely from the Gītā.

(3) The Nārada Sūtras are a work on 'bhakti' and they show in Sūtra 83 a knowledge of the opinions of the past teachers of 'bhakti'. It cannot be believed that the author or composer of the so called Nārada Sūtras did not know the Gītā, which is however, referred to in Śāṇḍilya Sūtra 83. As we have pointed out above the name of Śāṇḍilya has been mentioned among the teachers of 'bhakti' in Sūtra 18 of the Nārada Sūtras.

(4) The parallelism is to be noticed in respect of certain doctrinal points of the Gītā such as the following:—

(1) Abandonment of the fruit of actions; (2) Superfluity of the Vedic lore and ritual; (3) Control of baser passions like 'kāma' 'krodha' and others; (4) Unflinching devotion to one God; (5) Abandonment of other objects of devotion; (6) the limits and the utility of scriptural injunctions; (7) Dedication of all actions to God; (8) Grace of God necessary to the attainment of the supreme devotion; (9) Renunciation of all evil association; (10) the freedom of the devotee from all sense of egotism; (11) the advantages of the 'bhaktimārga' as compared to other arduous ways of obtaining God; (12) the necessity of maintaining 'loka-vyavahāra' in spite of the spiritual emancipation of the 'bhakta.'

(5) Lastly the additions made to the opinions advocated in the Gītā do not conflict with any of the doctrinal points mentioned above. For instance the 'mahatsaṅga' or companionship of the great mentioned in Nārada Sūtra 39 and which is considered by Nārada almost as a connecting link between the 'bhakta' and his God seems to be an element which has not its counterpart in the Gītā. It does not, however, conflict with the fundamentals of 'bhakti' as preached in the Gītā. It shows some traces of the cult of 'bhakti' of which the Nārada and the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras are a direct outcome. Another addition is in respect of the nature of 'bhakti.'

According to Nārada the 'bhakti' of a devotee towards his God must approach in intensity and disinterestedness the 'bhakti' of the wife towards the husband. This is enunciated in Sūṭra 21 (यथा व्रजगोपिकानाम्). It is further enunciated in Sūtra 66 which describes the nature of 'bhakti' as constant service of a wife towards her husband. The only line from the Gītā which can be said to approach this ideal of 'bhakti' is: प्रियः प्रियायार्हसि देव सोढुम् (XI 44). In fact this passage of the Gītā refers to forbearance which is of a negative nature, while 'bhakti' or 'prema' is something positive. Additions of the above nature show a marked development of the religious sentiment of 'bhakti' under the auspices of a regular cult.

We now proceed direct to point out in detail the parallelism of which we have spoken at such a length:—

Sutra 1. This is the usual beginning of works written in the Sūtra style. It simply makes an announcement regarding the subject-matter of the work which is 'bhakti.' There is almost a similar beginning to the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras.*

Sūtra 2. Here 'bhakti' is defined to be '*parama-prema-rūpā i.e.* of the nature of intense love towards God. Compare in this connection the '*parā-bhakti*' of Gītā XVIII, 54 and the subsequent four verses as also verse 68. The expression 'bhajatām prīti-pūrvakam' in Gītā X, 10 comes very near the 'parama-prema' of Nārada. In X, 1, Śrī Kṛṣṇa uses the adjective 'prīyamāṇāya' *i.e.* 'beloved' with reference to Arjuna; while in X, 20, the faithful devotees of God are said to be 'priyāḥ' *i.e.* dear to Him. The relation of mutual love of God and Man is clearly defined in VII, 17, where Śri Kṛṣṇa says: "I am supremely dear to the wise and he is dear to me." Other passages illustrative of such love are: IX, 29; XI, 44; XII, 14 to 17 and 19; XVIII, 65; XI, 41.

Sūtra 3. We are told in this Sūtra that 'bhakti' towards God is of the nature of immortality ('amṛta-svarūpā').

* 'Athāto bhakti-jijnāsā'.

Turning to Gitā we find that in XIV, 27, God is said to be the abode of 'amṛta' *i.e.* immortality, while the preceding verse proclaims that unswerving devotion leads to one's identification with God. The Gītā, therefore, believes in the 'amṛta-svarūpa' of 'bhakti.' A few more passages will make the point clear. Gītā IX, 19 declares that God is the source of 'amṛta;' XIII, 11 speaks of unswerving devotion as an essential of knowledge. It is said in verse 13 of the same chapter that knowledge of the 'jneya' described in verses 14 to 17 leades to 'amṛta.' Compare also II, 15, which uses the expression 'amṛtatvāya kalpate' *i.e.* 'becomes fit for immortality' with reference to the Yogī of the Gītā.

Sūtra 4. Here the 'bhakti' described in Sūtra 2 is said to make the devotee 'siddha' (perfect), 'amṛta' (immortal) and 'tṛpta' (satisfied).

'Siddhi' or spiritual perfection is a rare achievement according to Gītā VII, 3. There is no 'siddhi' without renunciation (III, 4). In this connection the parallelism noticeable in Gītā XII, 10 is most important for it points out to us the easiest way to 'siddhi,' which exactly corresponds to what Nārada Sūtra 19 describes as 'tadarpitākhilācāratā' *i.e.* the dedication of all actions to God. Other passages referring to 'siddhi' are:—III, 20; VIII, 15; XIV, 1; XVI, 23; XVIII, 45, 46, 50.

As regards the 'amṛtatva' or immortality of a 'bhakta' something has already been said under Sūtra 3 above. There are many passages in the Gītā which declare God to be the source of 'amṛta' or immortality and when the devotee is identified with God he becomes 'amṛta' or immortal and does not return to this world at all. The following passage will serve as an instance:—"Speedily he becomes dutiful and goes to eternal peace, O Kaunteya, know thou for certain that my devotee never perishes." (IX, 31).

We now come to 'tṛpti' attained by a devotee as mentioned by Nārada. The words 'ātmarati,' ātmatṛpta' and 'santuṣṭa of Gītā III, 17, speak for themselves. They all describe the inner

spiritual satisfaction of the devotee. Compare also the expression 'jñāna-vijñāna-tṛptātmā' in Gītā VI, 8. The adjective 'santuṣṭa' is used with reference to a 'bhakta' in XII, 14; in II, 55, a state of absolutely inward satisfaction is described in the words 'atmanyevātmanā tuṣṭaḥ.'

Sūtra 5. This sūtra tells us that a perfect devotee is free from desire, hate, grief, and zeal (na vāñcati, śocati, utsāhī bhavati. na dveṣṭi na ramate etc.).

These are exactly the characteristics of the 'sthitaprajna' of the Gītā. Compare also XII, 17, which exactly corresponds in point of expression to the present Sūtra of Nārada. Translated into English it stands thus:—"He who neither loves nor hates nor grieves nor desires, renouncing good and evil, full of devotion, he is dear to me."

Compare also the following passages from the Gītā:—

XVIII, 54; V, 20; II, 57 ('nābhinandati na dveṣṭi' etc.). As regards the expression 'na ramate' in the Sūtra, Cf. Gita V, 22- 'na teṣu ramate budhaḥ.'

Sūtra 6. This Sūtra mentions the positive effects of 'bhakti. These are indicated by such adjectives as 'mattaḥ', 'stabdhaḥ and 'ātmārāmaḥ' with reference to 'bhakta.'

The adjective 'stabdha' has its parallel in the 'sthairya' or steadfastness mentioned in Gītā XIII, 8. Compare also the following epithets:—'Sthira-buddhiḥ' (V, 20); 'sthira-matiḥ (XII, 19; 'sthita-dhīḥ' (II, 54; 'sthita-prajnaḥ' (II, 55).

As for the epithet 'ātmārāmaḥ' used in the Sūtra compare Gītā V, 24, ('antaḥ-sukhaḥ antarārāmaḥ' etc.); also III, 17 (note the expressions 'ātmarati,' 'ātmatṛptaḥ' 'ātmani santuṣṭaḥ' etc.); VI, 20—'yatra caivātmanātmānam paśyan ātmani tuṣyati, *i.e.* 'in which he, seeing the self by the self, is satisfied in the self.'

Sūtra 7. In this Sūtra 'bhakti' is distinguished from the so-called desires. It is not 'kāmayamānā' *i.e.* of the nature of desire It is positively of the nature of 'nirodha,' *i.e.*, restraint of all worldly desires.

Let us turn to the Gītā. Verse 53 of chapter XVIII says that 'kāma' and the allied passions ought to be relinquished so that the devotee may get 'śānti' and be identified with 'Brahma.' The next verse promises 'parā bhakti' to the devotee, who is free from 'kāma' and the like passions. There are numerous passages which enjoin restraint of desires as one of the essentials of spiritual discipline for the Yogī of the Gītā.

As regards the word 'nirodha' to which Nārada ascribes a rather specific sense as we shall find in the next Sūtra, the only passages in the Gītā where the verb 'nirudh' is used are VI, 20 and VIII, 12. Both these passages refer to the quietude of the mind brought on by the practice of Yoga.

Sūtra 8. The Sūtra gives a definition of the word 'nirodha' mentioned in the preceding Sūtra. The definition is nowhere to be found in the Gītā and is peculiar to the Nārada Sūtras. 'Nirodha' is defined as 'loka-veda-vyāpārasya nyāsaḥ' *i.e.* consecration or dedication of customary or scriptural observances (to God).

Compare the following passages from the Gītā:—III, 30—'mayi sarvāṇi karmāṇi sanyasya' *i.e.* dedicating all actions to me; V, 13—'sarva-karmāṇi manasā sanyasya' etc. XII, 10—'Ye tu sarvāṇi karmāṇi mayi sanyasya' etc.; XVIII, 57; also XVIII, 2.

Sūtra 9. This Sūtra further explains the term 'nirodha.' The chief features of 'nirodha' are (1) singleheartedness ('ananyatā') towards God and (2) indifference towards everything that is antagonistic to Him ('tadvirodhiṣūdāsīnatā').

Regarding the term 'ananyatā' of the Sūtra, compare the expressions in the Gītā such as 'ananya-cetāḥ' (VIII, 14 'ananya-bhāk' (IX, 30); 'anaṅya-manasaḥ' (IX, 13; 'ananyayā bhaktyā (VIII, 22; XI, 54.); 'ananyena yogena' (XII 6,); 'ananyaḥ' (IX, 22).

As regards 'udāsīnatā' of the Sūtra, in Gītā XII, 16 'udāsīna' has been mentioned as an attribute of the 'bhakta.' Compare also passages IX, 9 and XIV, 23. The expression of the Sūtra viz

'tad-virodhiṣūdāsīnatā' approaches in meaning the expression 'aratirjana-saṅsadi' of XIII, 11.

Sūtra 10. The 'ananyatā' referred to in the preceding Sūtra is made more explicit by the words 'anyāśrayāṇām tyāgaḥ' of the present Sūtra. The words mean "abandonment of all other supports." Evidently other objects of devotion are meant here.

Reverting to Gītā we find worship of 'anya-devatāḥ' *i.e.* other deities referred to in verses 20 to 23 of chapter VII. Verse 23 states that the worshippers of other deities do not reach God. They reach only their respective deities and return to this world again. Gītā IX, 23 shows a spirit of toleration towards the devotees of other gods.

The explanation of 'ananyatā' is, however, peculiar to the Nārada Sūtras.

Sūtra 11. This Sūtra makes it clear that the 'udāsīnatā' mentioned in Sūtra 9 is to be understood in a modified sense. Observances sanctioned by Custom and the Vedas may be performed in so far as they do not conflict with 'bhakti' towards God.

The parallel passage in the Gītā to the expression 'loka-vedeṣu tadanukūlācaraṇam' of the Sūtra is XVII, 27, where 'yajne tapasi dāne ca sthitiḥ' *i.e.* steadfastness in sacrifice, austerity and gift and 'karma caiva tadarthīyam' *i.e.* action for the sake of God are equated and both are said to be 'sat' The expression 'tadartham karma' is used in III, 9, and is further specified in IX, 27, which says:—"Whatsoever you do, whatsoever you eat, whatsoever you offer in sacrifice, whatsoever you give, whatsoever you do by way of austerity, O Kaunteya, do that as an offering unto Me."

Sūtra 12. This Sūtra maintains that the observance of the laws of Scripture may be continued after Faith in God is firmly established.

According to the Gītā also the laws of Scripture are a help to the devotee for attaining 'siddhi' or 'parā gati.' Compare XVI, 24 which says: "Let 'Śāstra' be your authority in determining what thou shalt do and thou shalt not." See also verse 23. 'Niścaya-dārḍhya' or deepening of faith in God referred to in the present Sūtra may be compared with Gītā XII, 14

'yatātmā dṛḍha-niścayaḥ.' It may be mentioned here that in the Nārada Sūtras such words like 'niścaya-dārdhya,' 'nirodha,' 'ananyatā' have assumed a particularized aspect.

Sūtra 13. The reason for showing deference to 'Śāstra' is stated in this Sūtra. Defiance to and deviation from the laws of 'Śāstra' are likely to cause a moral and spiritual fall ('pātitya') of a person when his faith in God is not securely established. For the same reason Gītā also says in III, 26 that no wise man should un-settle the minds of ignorant persons attached to action. All 'karma' is useful for 'ātmaśuddhi' *i.e.* self-purification (V, 11.). A person acting wantonly gets no happiness nor perfection nor 'parāgati' (XVI, 24).

Sūtra 14. Here social customs and usages ('loka') are put on the same level with scriptural injunctions (śāstra).

The activities of the body are necessary so long as the body is to be supported.

The Gītā also speaks of 'loka-saṅgraha' as necessary for perfection ('saṁsiddhi') III, 20, 25. The 'śarīra-dhāraṇa' of the Sūtra is exactly the 'sarīra-yātrā' of Gītā III, 8. Compare XVIII, 11. "It is not possible for embodied beings to abandon action completely;" also V, 11.

Sūtra 15. This Sūtra introduces diverse opinions regarding the characteristic marks of 'bhakti.'

Analogous passages are found in the Gītā. In chapter XIV verses 21 to 24 give us the '*liṅga's* or marks of a person who is 'guṇātīta' *i.e.* one who has crossed over the three qualities of matter. The next verse tells us that unflinching 'bhakti' alone enables one to cross over the '*guṇa's* and makes him fit to become 'brahma.'

The Nārada Sūtras, however, concentrate their attention on an analysis of 'bhakti' alone and try to divest it of its remote adjuncts as far as possible.

Sūtra 16. This Sūtra mentions the opinion of Pārāśarya regarding the mark of 'bhakti.' According to him 'bhakti' shows itself in the ardour with which a devotee worships God.

Compare Gītā IX, 26, in which Śri Kṛṣṇa says:—

"He, who offers to me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, water, that I accept from the striving self, offered as it is with devotion."

It is not clear who this Pārāśarya of the present sūtra is.

Sūtra 17. The second opinion regarding the marks ('lakṣaṇāni') of devotion is of Garga. He thinks that the marks of 'bhakti' are to be found in a devotee when he takes delight in talks regarding the glory and greatness of God. The Garga of the present Sūtra is possibly the same as is mentioned in Sūtra 83.

Compare Gītā X, 18. "In detail tell me again of Thy glory and yoga, O Janārdana; for me there is never satiety in hearing Thy life-giving words." Also compare Gītā X, 9, where Śri Kṛṣṇa says with reference to his beloved '*bhakta's*:—

"Thinking of me, their life directed towards me, enlightening each other, ever conversing about me, they are content and joyful." In this last passage the expression 'kathayantaśca mām nityam tuṣyanti ca ramanti ca' is exactly what Garga means by the words 'kathādiṣu anurāgaḥ.'

Sūtra 18. The third opinion is that of Śāṇḍilya. He opines that the worship ('pūjā') or talks ('kathā') about God may be helpful to a devotee but they must not come in the way of 'ātmarati' *i.e.* inward joy, which is an internal mark of 'bhakti.' Śāṇḍilya seems to be more philosophical than others. He does not give much importance to the external marks of 'bhakti.' If the external marks were the test of 'bhakti,' much scope will be left for hypocrisy.

Compare with this opinion Gītā III, 17. "But the person, who rejoices in the self, is satisfied with the self and is content in the self, for him nothing remains to be done." Note the word 'ātmarati' in this verse of the Gītā.

Sūtra 19. This Sūtra gives us Nārada's own view regarding the marks of 'bhakti' in the words 'tadarpitākhilācāratā' *i.e.* dedicating all actions to God.

Now compare Gītā IX, 27 "yat karoṣi.....tat kuruṣva madarpaṇam;" XII, 10. "mat-karma-paramo bhava" and VIII, 7 "mayyarpita-mano-buddhiḥ." These passages need no comment.

Sūtra 20. This Sūtra ushers in illustrations in support of Nārada's view mentioned in the preceding Sūtra.

Sūtra 21. Here is an instance to support Nārada's view according to which all actions are to be dedicated to God. The Gopis of Vraja or Vṛndāvana dedicated all their actions to Śri Kṛṣṇa out of extreme love towards him.

There is no reference in the Gītā to the stories of Śri Kṛṣṇa's love towards the Gopis of Vṛndāvana. In Gītā X, 37, Śri Kṛṣṇa calls himself 'vṛṣṇīnām Vāsudevosmi' *i.e.* 'I am Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇīs.' It may be that the love stories that have commonly gathered round Śri Kṛṣṇa's name may have been developed along with the development of the Bhakti school and hence Nārada's reference to the same in support of his ideal of 'bhakti.' Compare also XI, 44 'priyaḥ priyāyārhasi deva sodhum'.

Sūtra 22. Even though the devotion is to be as intense as that of the Gopis towards Kṛṣṇa the idea of the greatness of God is not left out.

For the 'māhātmya' referred to in this Sūtra compare Gītā XI, 2, which refers to the greatness of God ('vibhūtis') as embodied in verses 20 to 42 of the preceding chapter.

Nārada's treatment of 'bhakti' is certainly more critical than that of the Gītā though the points treated in both the works are almost the same.

Sūtra 23. This Sūtra tells us that love for God if divested of the idea of 'māhātmya' becomes like the illicit love of a paramour towards his woman.

There is no parallel to this metaphor in the Gītā.

Sūtra 24. In illicit love the happiness of the paramour and that of the woman are not identical.

Compare Gītā VI, 28, which promises unending bliss to the yogī. I believe, Nārada is driving at what Shelley calls "love's sad satiety." Compare Gītā XVIII, 40, which gives us the 'sāttvika sukha' which is neither on earth nor in the high heaven of gods.

Sūtra 25. This Sūtra accomplishes in one short line what the author of the Gītā required two verses to do.

Nārada here establishes the superiority of 'bhakti' to 'karma, 'jnāna' and 'yoga.'

Compare Gītā VI, 46, 47, where the Yogī of the Gītā is said to be greater than 'tapasvī', 'jnānī' and 'karmī' and finally of all '*yogī's* one who adores God heart and soul is the best of the lot. It should be emphasized here that the parallelism in the present case is quite objective.

Sūtra 26. This Sūtra and the next supply grounds for establishing the superiority of 'bhakti' to other paths. 'Bhakti' is 'phala-rupā' *i.e.* is its own reward unlike other paths which are expected to lead to some ulterior 'phala'.

The way of devotion is the most direct way of approaching God and hence it results in the realization of God with comparative ease. Other ways are round about and misleading. In VII, 23 the Gītā tells us that the 'phala' or fruit of other paths is finite ('antavat'), while 'bhakti' leads to immediate union with God who is infinite. Men begin in 'bhakti' and end in 'bhakti.'

Sūtra 27. 'Bhakti' is superior to other paths on account of the fact that God hates egotism in his devotees ('abhimāni-dveṣitva') and loves humility or meekness ('dainya-priyatva'). Complete self-surrender ensures speedy union with God.

Apparently the expression 'abhimāni-dveṣitva' contradicts with the passages of the Gītā, which express a spirit of toleration such as 'na me dveṣyosti na priyaḥ' IX, 29 but compare such expressions as 'dambha-māna-madānvitāḥ' (XVI, 10) 'dambhāhaṅkāra-samyuktāḥ' (XVII, 5) applied to persons whom God does not like and whose end is Hell pure and simple. On the other hand such qualities as 'amānitva' and 'adāmbhitva' are said to constitute the real 'jnāna.' It is clear that 'amānitva' and 'dainya' are

identical and the appreciation of this quality by God is quite clearly seen in Gītā XIII, 8.

Sūtra 28. Some say that 'jnāna' or knowledge alone is the means for 'bhakti.'

Compare Gītā IX, 15, which corresponds to this Sūtra (Jnāna-yajnena cāpyanye yajanto māmupāsate). Gītā IV, 10 refers to men who have entered into God's being purified by 'jnāna'; XII, 5, mentions persons whose minds are attached to 'avyakta.' There are many other passages in the Gītā which refer to the ancillary character of 'jnāna'. Compare the following expressions:—

'Jnāna-nirdhūta-kalmaṣaḥ' (V, 17); 'jnāna-plavena' etc. (IV, 36); 'jnāna-yajnaḥ śreyān' (IV, 33); 'jnāna-sañcchinna-samśayam' (IV, 41); 'jnānagni-dagdha-karmāṇam' (IV, 19).

Sūtra 29. Some say that 'jnāna' and 'bhakti' are mutually dependent.

In Gītā XII, 2, Śri Kṛṣṇa mentions definitely that he prefers his faithful devotees to those who worship the 'avyakta.' Further in Gītā X, 10, 'buddhi-yoga' has been stated to be a means to approach God. With such evidence against the mutual dependence of 'jnāna' and 'bhakti' we are constrained to say that the Gītā does not recognize the view of some persons mentioned in the present Sūtra.

Sūtra 30. This Sūtra repeats the view of Nārada himself regarding the relation of 'bhakti' to other paths, it being already mentioned in Sūtra 26 *viz.* that 'bhakti' is its own reward.

Sūtras 31 and 32. These Sūtras give us an illustration in support of Nārada's view that 'bhakti' is not a means to an end but an end in itself and is, therefore, its own reward. We find that a king feeds a host of persons dependent on him but by so doing he neither gets any pleasure himself nor have the persons fed the satisfaction of their desires.

The metaphor introduced in this Sūtra has no parallel in the Gītā.

Sūtra 33. Since 'bhakti' is superior to other paths it should be adopted by those who desire 'mokṣa.' Compare Gītā XVIII, 66, which establishes the superiority of 'bhakti' as a means of salvation to all other means ("Sarva dharmān parityajya mamekam śaranam vraja" etc.) Compare also IX, 32—'tepi yānti parām gatim.'

Sūtra 34. Nārada here introduces the 'sādhanás of 'bhakti' as mentioned by his predecessors ('ācāryāḥ'). By the term 'ācāryāḥ' he presumably means 'bhaktyācāryaḥ' referred to in Sūtra 83.

Sūtra 35. The first 'sādhana' of 'bhakti' is 'viṣayatyāga' *i.e.* abandonment of objects of sense and 'saṅga-tyāga' *i.e.* relinquishment of all attachment to these objects.

This Sūtra seems to echo Gītā II, 62,—'dhyāyato viṣayānpuṅsaḥ saṅgas-teṣūpajāyate' *i.e.* a man musing on the objects of sense conceives an attachment for these; II, 64,—'rāga-dveṣaviyuktaistu viṣayānindriyaiścaran' etc. In XV, 2, the 'aśvattha' tree is said to possess 'viṣaya-pravālaḥ' *i.e.* objects of sense as its buds, while the next verse asks us to cut off this tree with the weapon of 'asaṅga.' *i.e.* want of attachment. Other passages in this connection are:—IV, 26; XVIII, 51; II, 59; XVIII; 38; XI, 55.

Sūtra 36. The next 'sādhana' of 'bhakti' is 'avyāvṛtta-bhajana' of God *i.e.* unflinching adoration of God. Compare Gītā IX, 13—'bhajanti ananya-manasaḥ' etc.; VIII, 14,—'ananyacetāḥ' etc.; VIII, 22,—'ananyayā bhaktyā labhyaḥ'; XI, 54,—'ananyayā bhaktyā jñātum śakyaḥ' etc.; XII, 6,—'ananyena yogena' etc.; XIII, 11—'mayi cānanya-yogena bhaktiḥ'; IX, 22,—'ananyāścintayanto mām' etc.

Sūtra 37. The unflinching adoration mentioned in the preceding Sūtra is more or less 'the way of the alone with the alone' and has a mystical tinge about it. The 'Bhagavad-guṇa-śravaṇakīrtana' *i.e.* listening to and singing the virtues of God, which has been mentioned in this Sūtra shows the social side of 'bhakti' which develops a sense of religious brotherhood in the mind of the 'bhaktas'.

Compare Gītā IX, 14,—'satatam kīrtayanto mām' etc.; X, 9.—'kathayantaśca mām nityam tuṣyanti ca ramanti ca' etc.

Sūtra 38. Bhakti is chiefly obtainable either through 'mahat-kṛpā' *i.e.* grace of the great ones or through 'Bhagavat-kṛpā-leśa' *i e.* by a touch of divine compassion.

We do not notice in the Gītā anything corresponding to or identical with the 'mahat-kṛpā' of this Sūtra. We find in the Gītā the direct relation of God and Man. There is no middleman introduced between the two. Sūtras 38 and 39 show that the cult of 'bhakti' has been sufficiently developed so as to make room for the element of 'mahat-saṅga' but still 'Bhagavat-kṛpā' preponderated as is proved by Sūtra 40.

Sūtra 39. 'Mahat-saṅga' or companionship of the great is difficult of attainment ('durlabha'), inscrutable ('agamya'), and infallible ('amogha').

Sūtra 40. This Sūtra says that in spite of the rarity of the 'mahat-saṅga' it can be obtained by the kṛpā or grace of God.

'Bhagavat-kṛpā' referred to in this Sūtra and Sūtra 38 is exactly the 'prasāda' referred to in the Gītā. Compare XVIII, 58 'sarva-durgāṇi mat prasādāt tariṣyasi' and XVIII, 62—'mat-prasādāt-parām śāntim' etc.

Sūtra 41. This Sūtra tells us that there is no distinction between God and his man.

In a priest-ridden religion paramount importance comes to be attached to the priests, who suppose that the keys of Heaven are entrusted to their charge and they can make use of the same at their sweet will and discretion. The present Sūtra of Nārada gives some importance to the chosen people of God but does not seem to support the priests. By the word 'jana' in the Sūtra the devotees of God are meant.

As regards the identity of God and Man compare Gītā IX, 29, —'ye bhajanti tu mām bhaktyā mayi te teṣu cāpyaham' *i.e.* those who worship me with devotion, they are in Me and I am in them.

Sūtra 42. This Sūtra exhorts men to strive after 'bhakti' and 'bhakti' alone.

Sūtra 43. We are here asked to abandon all 'duḥsaṅga' or evil company. 'Saṅga-tyāga' has already been mentioned in Sūtra 35.

Just as 'mahat-saṅga' is an asset to a 'bhakta' so 'duḥsaṅga' is a dangerous liability. The reason for 'duḥsaṅga-tyāga' is given in the next verse. Parallel passages in the Gītā have already been mentioned under Sūtra 35.

Sūtra 44. This Sūtra and the preceding one are paraphrase of Gītā II, 62, 63. The order in which undesirable emotions are mentioned in the Gītā remains quite unchanged in the present Sūtra. The only changes noticeable, if changes they can at all be called, are:—In stead of 'sammoha', 'smṛti-vibhrama' and 'praṇaśyati' in Gītā II, 62, 63, the words in the Sūtra are: 'moha,' 'smṛti-bhraṁśa' and 'sarva-nāśa' respectively. These changes are immaterial. The parallelism here is almost a plagiarism. The view that has been almost forced on us by the results of our present enquiry is that the Nārada Sūtras have borrowed directly from the Gītā.

Sūtra 45. The evil affections *viz.*, 'kāma', 'krodha' etc though at first of the nature of ripples ('taraṅgāyitāḥ') assume the magnitude of the sea owing to 'saṅga' or attachment (saṅgāt samudrāyante).

Compare Gītā II, 67,—"Such of the wandering senses, as the mind yields to, mislead the intellect just as the gale leads astray a ship upon the waters."

The metaphor in both cases is almost the same. Compare also II, 70,—"He obtains peace into whom all desires flow as rivers flow into the ocean, which is filled with water but remains unmoved—not he, who is after desires."

Sūtra 46. This Sūtra contains both a question and its answer. Who gets over ('tarati') illusion ('māyā')? He, who abandons 'saṅga' or attachment, who resorts to the company of the magnanimous, and who is free from any sense of selfishness or egotism.

Compare Gītā VII, 14—'māyām etām taranti te' (the wording in this passage and the Sūtra is almost identical.) Also compare VII, 15,—'māyayāpahṛta-jnānāḥ' and XVIII, 61-'yantrārūḍhāni māyayā.'

The 'mahānubhāva-sevā' mentioned in this Sūtra is identical with the 'mahat-saṅga' of Sūtra 39. The word 'mahānubhāvān' is used in Gītā II, 5, but has nothing to do with the 'mahānubhāva-sevā' of the present Sūtra.

The epithet 'nirmama' is also found in Gītā II, 71; III, 30; XII, 13; XVIII, 53.

Sūtra 47. The qualifications of the person who gets over 'māyā' are further enumerated. They are (1)—'vivikta sthāna-sevā' *i.e.* retiring to a secluded place (2)—'loka-bandha-unmūlana' *i.e.* shaking off the shackles of this wordly existence; (3)—'nistraiguṇyam' *i.e.* being above the three qualities of Matter; (4)—'yoga-kṣema-tyāga' forsaking both acquisition and preservation of desirables.

Compare Gītā XIII, 11,—'viviktadeśa-sevitvam;' also XVIII, 52,—'vivikta-sevī' etc. Regarding the second qualification compare V, 3—'nirdvandvo hi mahān-bāho sukham bandhāt pramucyate' *i.e.* a person who is free from the pairs of opposites, O mighty-armed, he is easily set free from bondage.

Now regarding 'nistraiguṇya' and 'yoga-kṣema-tyāga' compare Gītā II, 45,—'nistraiguṇyo bhavārjuna' and 'nir-yogakṣema ātmavān' also IX, 22,—'yoga-kṣemam vahāmyaham.'

Sūtra 48. The qualifications mentioned in Sūtra 47 are continued in this Sūtra. They are:—(5)—'karmaphala-tyāga' or abandoning the fruit of action (6)—'karma-sanyāsa' or dedication of all actions to God; (7)—becoming 'nirdvandva' *i.e.* freedom from the pairs of opposites such as 'sukha' and 'duḥkha' etc.

We find in the Gītā numerous passages bearing on the 'karmaphala-tyāga'. These are:—II, 47,—'Karmaṇyevādhikāraste mā phaleṣu kadācana'; others being—IV, 20, 14; V, 12; VI, 1; XVIII, 11;

Passages regarding 'karma-sanyāsa' are the following:—V, 13—'mayi sarvāṇi karmāṇi sanyasya'; others being: III, 4, 30; XII, 6; XVIII, 57, 2, 49; VI, 1; V, 2; IX, 28. Passages regarding becoming 'nirdvandva' are:—II, 45; V, 3.

Sūtra 49. This Sūtra gives us the attitude of the author of the Sūtras towards the Vedas as a means of spiritual salvation. 'Veda-sanyāsa' is mentioned here as a means to obtain 'avicchinna-anurāga' or the 'parama-prema' for God (Compare 'loka-Veda-vyapārasya nyāsaḥ' mentioned in Sūtra 8).

Compare Gītā II, 42, 45, 46, 53 (in all these verses the superfluity of the Vedas is emphasized.) In XI, 48, we learn that it is not possible to know God by means of sacrifices or the Vedas etc. The same is the purport of XI, 53.

As regards the 'avicchinna-anurāga' of the Sūtra we find in the Gītā the following passages, in which 'satataprīti' or 'satata-bhajana' of God is referred to:—

XII, 1;—'satata-yuktaḥ bhaktaḥ;' X, 10,—'satata-yuktānām bhajatām prīti-pūrvakam;' VIII, 14,—'satatam yo mām smarati nityaśaḥ;' IX, 14,—'satatam kīrtayantaḥ... ..bhaktyā...upāsate' XVIII, 57,—'maccitaḥ satatam bhava.'

Sūtra 50. A person who is possessed of the qualifications mentioned in the preceding Sūtras viz. 46 to 49 is himself liberated and causes the liberation of others.

Compare Gītā VII, 14,—'Māmeva ye prapadyante māyām etām taranti te'; XVIII, 58,—'maccitaḥ sarva-durgāṇi matprasādāt tariṣyasi.'

Sūtras 51 and 52. In these Sūtras the nature of love towards God which has been referred to in Sūtra 2 is said to be 'anirvacanīya' i.e. indescribable in words just like the taste of a dumb person ('mūkāsvādanavat').

The expression 'mūkāsvādanavat' introduces an element of mysticism in 'bhakti.' The joy of communion with God is simply incommunicable. It is likely to be derided by persons incapable of it.

Now turn to the Gītā. In IX, 2, the 'rāja-vidyā' or 'rāja-guhya' viz. faith in God etc., is said to be 'pratyakṣāvagamam' i.e. intuitional. Nārada uses a negative adjective to express the same intuitional character of 'bhakti' viz. 'anirvacanīya' and happily enough adds a convincing illustration.

Sūtra 53. The esoteric nature of 'bhakti' is further expatiated on in this Sūtra, which tells us that love towards God manifests itself spontaneously in a fit receptacle ('pātre').

Compare Gītā III, 25—'nāham prakāśaḥ sarvasya' also VII' 3,—"Among thousands of men scarcely one strives for perfection; of the successful strivers scarcely one knows me in essence".

Sūtra 54. This Sūtra appears to me to analyse the ecstasies of a mystic, in a masterly manner. It reaches a high water-mark in Nārada's power for speculative analysis of feeling. 'Bhakti' is said to be devoid of any qualification, devoid of desire, growing intense every moment, having a ceaseless flow, and of the form of subtler feeling.

With reference to the adjective 'guṇa-rahitam' as applied to 'bhakti', compare Gītā IV, 25, 26, both verses describing a 'guṇātīta' person to be one who is an unswerving devotee of God. Compare also verses 20 to 23 of the same chapter. The second adjective used in the present Sūtra is 'kāmanā-rahitam.' compare Gītā VII, 11,—where God identifies himself with 'balam' or strength that is 'kāma-rāga-vivarjitam' In IV, 19, the actions of a wise man are said to be free from 'kāma'.

In chapter XIII, of the Gītā, verses 13 to 18 describe the 'jneya' or the object of knowledge. When the 'bhakta' knows this 'jneya' he enters into God's being. Now with regard to the adjectives 'avicchinnam' and sūkṣmataram' applied to 'prema' for God compare such expressions as 'avibhaktam' in Gītā XIII, 17, and 'sūkṣmatvāt tadavijneyam.' The adjective 'anubhavarūpam' has its parallel in the expression 'pratyakṣāvagamam' of Gītā IX, 2.

Sūtra 55. This Sūtra describes how the identification of God and his devotee results in all actions of the latter being directed

towards the former. The devotee lives, moves and has his being in God. He has visions of the object of his devotion, entertains talks only about Him, and thinks of Him at the exclusion of every thing else. Compare Gītā XII, verses 6 to 11 and 14, which tell us the procedure of 'bhakti' and when a devotee follows this procedure he becomes one with God. Compare also the 'brāhmi sthiti' described in II, 72.

Sūtra 56. As contrasted with the 'parama-prema-svarūpa of bhakti' which is said to be 'guṇa-rahitam' in Sūtra 54 and which is the same as the 'parā bhakti' of the Gītā, we are introduced here to the 'gauṇī' or secondary sort of 'bhakti.' It is threefold according to the three qualities viz. 'sattva,' 'rajas' and 'tamas' or according to the three sorts of devotees viz. the afflicted and others (the inquisitive and the self-interested).

This Sūtra evidently alludes to the four sorts of 'bhaktas mentioned in Gītā VII, 16,—"Fourfold in division are the righteous ones who worship me, the afflicted, the seeker for knowledge, the self-interested and the wise." Of course the last class of devotees consists of those who obtain 'parā bhakti' as is clear from the next verse. The expression 'ārtādi-bhedāt' of the present Sūtra undoubtedly alludes to the three classes of devotees except the last one. This is not mere parallelism but a regular allusion to the Gītā and is most important from our present point of view.

Now as regards the expression 'tridhā guṇa-bhedāt' of the Sūtra, it should be noted that it occurs in XVIII, 19, as 'tridhaiva guṇa-bhedataḥ' though not in connection with 'bhakti.' The major part of this chapter consists of expatiation of this three-fold division of 'guṇas' but the division has not been applied to 'bhakti' as Nārada has done. Here Nārada goes one step further than the Gītā and applies the division to 'bhakti' itself. We may safely conclude, therefore, that the Gītā, showing as it does a spirit of eclecticism, does not devote much attention to a critical analysis of 'bhakti' as Nārada does.

As regards the fourth class of devotees *viz.*, the wise ('jnānī') compare Sūtra 67.

Sūtra 57. This Sūtra tells us that the three sorts of 'bhakti' understood according to either of the two principles of division are in the order of their merit *i.e.* their efficacy for doing spiritual good.

The cast of the Sūtra is analogous to Gītā XII, 12,—'Śreyo hi jnānamabhyāsāt' etc.

Sūtra 58. The facilities of 'bhakti' are emphasized here in contra-distinction to other ways of spiritual advancement.

Compare Gītā VIII, 14,—"He who constantly thinks of me not thinking ever of another, easily reaches me, O Pārtha, this ever-harmonised Yogi." The expression 'tasyāham sulabhaḥ' should be noted.

Sūtra 59. Here is a reply to logicians who may demand evidence in support of what Nārada has said till now regarding the nature of 'bhakti.' The self-evident character of 'bhakti' is mentioned here specially. It is already hinted in the expression 'anubhava-rūpam' of Sūtra 54. 'Bhákti' is proof of itself and it does not stand in need of any demonstration. Note also Sūtras 26 and 30 which describe the 'phala-rūpatva' of 'bhakti.' We venture to remark here that Sūtra 59 above all others tries to justify the mystic character of 'bhakti.' Religion is above all a matter of individual conviction to all thinkers in the real sense of the word. Kant's "Kritik of Pure Reason" concludes ultimately in the very strain of the present Sūtra of Nārada.

Sūtra 60. This Sūtra further assigns reasons for the justification of 'bhakti.' The 'bhakti' of God is of the nature of 'śānti' or peace and highest ecstacy ('paramānanda').

There are innumerable passages in the Gītā which speak of this 'śānti' consequent on the 'bhakti' towards God. I give a few here. 'Parā śānti' is referred to in XVIII, 62; IV, 39; 'naiṣṭhikī śānti' in V, 12; 'nirvāṇa-paramām śāntim' in VI, 15; and 'śānti' in IX, 31; II, 71, 70; V, 29.

As regards 'paramānanda' of the Sūtra, though there is no such expression in the Gītā, we find many expressions connoting

the state of highest bliss which the Yogi of the Gītā attains. Compare 'uttamam sukham' (VI, 27,); 'atyantam sukham' (VI, 28,) etc.

Sūtra 61. This Sūtra meets a possible objection. It is likely that a person who is entirely after God might neglect his duties towards his fellow-men and thus if the way of 'bhakti' is universally adopted there might result social dissolution ('loka-hāni'). The Sūtra assures us that no anxiety need be entertained on this score for, the 'bhakta' continues to do his usual duties, consecrating his own self and the social and scriptural duties to God.

As regards 'loka-hāni' of the Sūtra, compare Gītā III, 24—'utsīdeyuḥ ime lokāḥ' etc. where Śri Kṛṣṇa says "These worlds would fall into ruin, if I did not perform action" etc.

Sūtra 62. 'Loka-hāni' will not be the result of 'bhakti' for, we are not required to give up all 'lokavyavahāra' i.e. social custom and usage when that 'bhakti' is attained. What we have to give up is the 'phala' or fruit of our actions. The performance of 'loka-vyavahāra' should surely be attended to.

Compare Gītā III, 9,—'lokoyam karma-bandhanaḥ' and 'tadartham karma Kaunteya' etc. As opposed to loka-hāni' of the Sūtra the Gītā enjoins 'loka-saṅgraha' in III, 20, 25. As regards 'phala-tyāga' of the Sūtra compare Sūtra 48 and the passages in the Gītā mentioned by us under the same.

Sūtra 63. The 'bhakta' should not listen to any talks about women, wealth and the conduct of unbelievers.

As regards talks about women compare Gītā XVI, 11, 12, in which men given over to the enjoyment of sensual objects are condemned. In verse 13 of the same chapter men, who are the slaves of fortune are condemned. With regard to the attitude of the Sūtra towards the unbelievers compare XVI, 8,—"The universe is without truth, without basis, they say, 'without God; brought about by mutual union, and caused by lust and nothing else;'

Sūtra 64. The 'bhakta' should forsake 'abhimāna' i.e. egotism, 'dambha' i.e. hypocrisy etc.

Compare Gītā XVI, 4,—'Dambho darpobhimānaśca' etc.; XVI 10,—'dambha-māna-madānvitāḥ' etc. and XIII, 8,—'amānitvam adambhitvam' etc.; also XVII, 12, 5, 8; XVI, 17.

Sūtra 65. Having once devoted all his actions to Him, the devotee should show (if at all) desire, resentment etc. only towards Him.

In Sūtra 19 we have already learnt this 'tadarpitākhilācāratā' and the corresponding passages in the Gītā have also been mentioned under that Sūtra. As regards the latter part of the Sūtra th[illegible]nger etc. should be shown towards God and God alone we hav[illegible]bad, Nā[illegible]mark that there is no such statement in the Gītā explic[illegible]not be r[illegible].

Sūt[illegible]only pa[illegible]Having dissociated himself from the threefold 'gauṇī [illegible]ah prā[illegible]ion mentioned in Sūtra 56 the 'bhakta' should cultivate [illegible] and love alone towards God—love, which is of the nature of constancy in service and constant adoration of a wife towards her husband.

With reference to the expression 'nitya-kāntā-bhajanātmakam' used in the present Sūtra, compare Sūtra 21 ('yathā vraja-gopikānām') and our remarks on the same.

Sūtra 67. Of all devotees, the primary are those who have one end in view ('ekāntinaḥ').

In Sūtra 56 three classes of devotees are alluded to. We have already emphasized the importance of the allusion in as much as it alludes to Gītā VII, 16. In verse 17 of the same chapter a fourth class is mentioned viz. that of the wise ('jnānī'), who are devoted to one God ('eka-bhakti'). This class of devotees is exactly the class referred to in the present Sūtra by the term 'ekāntinaḥ,' compare also XIV, 27,—'sukhasyaikāntikasya ca'.

Sūtra 68. The primary devotees referred to in the preceding Sūtra are said to converse together with choking voice, with hairs standing on end, and with tears flowing, and thus they purify their families as well as the earth. Compare X, 9—"With mind fixed on Me, their life directed towards Me, enlightening each other, ever conversing about Me they are satisfied and delighted."

The purificatory aspect of 'bhakti' as given in the latter half of this Sūtra is rather peculiar to the Nārada Sūtras and does not seem to have its parallel in the Gītā.

Sūtra 69. The sanctifying influences of 'bhakti' are further enumerated here. The primary devotees referred to in the two preceding Sūtras are said to add holiness to holy sites, add an element of meritoriousness to ordinary actions, and raise even ordinary rules of conduct to the status of the sacred scriptures.

Sūtra 70. The primary devotees are completely absorbed in God.

Compare V, 17—"Thinking on that, merged in t[illegible]blished in that, solely devoted to that, they go whence the[illegible]return, their sins washed off by Wisdom." Compare also [illegible] "They who worship Me with devotion, they are in Me an[illegible]so am in them."

Sūtra 71. The forefathers of the primary devotees or the 'ekāntinaḥ' rejoice, the gods dance (with joy) and this earth becomes 'sanātha' *i.e.* secure under the guardianship of a lord, as it were.

This glorification of the primary devotees is Nārada's own addition to what he seems to have borrowed from the Gītā.

Sūtra 72. This Sūtra gives prominance to the fact that all devotees are children of the same father *viz.* God and there is no distinction of birth, learning, beauty, family, wealth, observance etc. among them.

This Sūtra breathes the spirit of Gītā IX, 32, "They, who take refuge with Me, O Pārtha, though of sinful origin, women, Vaiśyas, even Śūdras, they also reach the highest mode of life."

Sūtra 73. This Sūtra assigns reason to the co-ordination of the primary devotees mentioned in the preceding Sūtra. These devotees, we are told, belong to Him and hence the absence of any distinction among them. All distinctions are man-made but in the kingdom of God which Nārada has promised in Sūtra 71 above, there are no such distinctions. Compare Sūtra 41, which first tells us that there is no distinction between God and

his man and now we are told here that there is no distinction between men and men if they all love God. Compare also Sūtra 70.

Compare Gītā IX, 29,—"Samoham sarva-bhūteṣu" etc.

Sūtra 74. Ratiocination has never proved to be of any material use in advancing the religion of 'bhakti'. Complete self-surrender is not possible in the case of rationalists, who may go on arguing endlessly without coming to a decision, which is necessary for action whether secular or religious. Recognizing this fundamental [illegible]ple, which lies at the root of any philosophy of life, good or [illegible]rada says in the present Sūtra that vain discussion should [illegible]esorted to by the devotees.

The [illegible]ssage in the Gītā where 'vāda' is referred to, is X, 32, ('vād[illegible]vadatāmaham') but that has nothing to do with the 'vāda' of the Sūtra.

Sūtra 75. Vain discussion about God must not be encouraged because (1) there will be too much of such discussion and (2) secondly it will be *ad infinitum*. We need not conclude from this that all discussion is to be stifled. The general tone of all the Sūtras till now is that Faith in God should not be disturbed, by any sceptical tendencies, and hence futile discussion is strictly forbidden.

Sūtra 76. All treatises on 'bhakti' (bhakti-śāstrāṇi) should be studied and all actions prescribed therein should be performed.

Nārada here clearly refers to treatises on 'bhakti,' known to him. This means that some special treatises on 'bhakti' were current in Nārada's time and we are inclined to infer that the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras and the Gītā were both known to him. We have already shown above that Nārada refers to Śāḍilya as a 'bhaktyācārya' or teacher of devotion in Sūtra 83 and refers to his opinions in Sutra 18 though he does not refer to the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras as such. It may be that these Sūtras were too familiar to him to be mentioned by name. The next question is with regard to the Gītā. The Gītā is nowhere mentioned by name by Nārada

as Śaṇḍilya has done in Sūtra 83. A doubt, therefore, arises whether Nārada looked upon the Gītā as a 'bhakti-śāstra' or a treatise on devotion. Our present study of parallelism leads us to believe that he *did* look upon the Gītā as a 'bhakti-śāstra'. We have shown at length how Nārada takes his cue from the Gītā for many of his simple and beautiful Sūtras. Our conclusion, therefore, is that he looked upon the Gītā as a 'bhakti śāstra' and tried to evolve the principles of 'bhakti' found in the Gītā for the use of his followers adding some opinions of other teachers of 'bhakti' and modifying them to his own purpose, which seems to be to provide a clear-cut manual for the daily use of his followers, some of whom might have been perhaps incapable of understanding the eclecticism of the Gītā with its mixture of Sānkya, Yoga and Vedānta.

Sūtra 77. Considering that a major part of our life is taken up by the thought and experience of pleasure, pain, desire, gain etc. we have very little left for the culture of 'bhakti,' and hence even half a moment should not be spent invain.

Every moment should be utilised for purposes of divine contemplation. Gītā also speaks of devotees who are constantly devoted to God. Compare VIII, 14,—'tasyāham sulabhaḥ, Pārtha nitya-yuktasya yoginaḥ'; VII, 17,—'teṣām jnānī nitya-yuktaḥ eka-bhaktiḥ viśiṣyate'; IX, 14,—'satatam kīrtayantaḥ...nitya-yuktaḥ upāsate'; XII, 2.—'ye mām nitya-yuktāḥ upāsate' etc.

Sūtra 78. The devotees should observe harmlessness (ahiñsā) truthfulness (satya), purity (śauca), kindness (dayā) faith in God (āstikya) and other excellences of character.

Compare Gītā XVI, 2 and 3, where 'ahiñsā,' 'satya' 'dayā' 'śauca' etc. are said to constitute the aggregate of divine properties (daivī sampad). In XVIII, 42 'śauca' and 'āstikya' are mentioned as 'brahma-karma.'

Sūtra 79. The devotees should repose absolute trust in the Lord and worship Him at all times with the whole heart.

Compare with the wording of the Sūtra the following line from the Gītā:—"Sa sarva-vid bhajati mām sarva-bhāvena Bhārata" (XV, 19).

Sūtra 80. The Lord being constantly invoked reveals Himself quickly and gives His devotees the experience of His presence.

The manifestation and revelation of God promised here has its parallel in the 'viśva-rūpa-darśana' of Gītā XI. Compare in particular verse 54 of the same chapter where the Lord says :—

"By devotion to Me alone I may thus be perceived, O Arjuna, and known and seen in essence, and entered, O Parantapa."

Sūtra 81. Devotion to the Lord alone is more important (than every thing else).

As regards the epithet 'tri-satyasya' applied to the Lord in this Sūtra compare Gītā XI, 37,—'tvamakṣaram sadasat tatparam yat.'

Sūtra 82. Here eleven stages of 'bhakti' are mentioned:— (1)—'guṇa-māhātmya-āsakti;' (2)—'rupāsakti;' (3)—'pūjāsakti;' (4)—'smaraṇāsakti;' (5)—'dāsyāsakti;' (6)—'sakhyāsakti;' (7)—'vātsalyāsakti;' (8)—'kāntāsakti;' (9)—'ātma-nivedanā-sakti;' (10)—'tanmayāsakti;' (11)—'parama-virahāsakti;'

This Sūtra is practically a résumé of all the features of 'bhakti' mentioned in the previous Sūtras. Let us try to point out the Sūtras which deal with each of the forms of 'bhakti' stated here :—

(1) 'Guṇa-māhātmya-āsakti' *i.e.* attachment to the attributes and greatness of God. See Sūtra 27, which mentions the attributes of God such as 'abhimāni-dveṣitva' and 'dainya-priyatva.' Listening to the attributes of God has been mentioned as a 'sādhana' of 'bhakti' in Sūtra 37.

(2) 'Rupāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to the form or beauty of God. In Sūtra 55 the devotee is said to look only upon the object of his devotion.

(3) 'Pujāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to the worship of God. In Sūtra 16 ardour in God's worship has been mentioned as a mark of 'bhakti.'

(4) 'Smaraṇāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to memories of God. See Sūtra 55 where the devotee is said to think only of God. The unceasing adoration (avyāvṛttabhajana) mentioned in Sūtra 36 is indicative of 'smaraṇāsakti.

(5) 'Dāsyāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to the service of God. See Sūtra 66, where 'nitya-dāsya' or constant service has been mentioned to be in the very nature of 'bhakti.'

(6) 'Sakhyāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to his friendship. We are unable to find any Sūtra exactly referring to this sort of attachment.

(7) 'Vātsalyāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to parental affection towards God. Possibly Sūtra 73, which says that there is no kind of distinction between devotees and devotees for they all belong to God, may imply this 'vātsalyāsakti.'

(8) 'Kāntāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to God in the manner of a loving wife. See Sūtra 66 which asks us to show such love towards God as is in the nature of constant wifely conduct. See also Sūtra 21 ('yathā vraja-gopikānām.')

(9) 'Ātma-nivedanāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to self-consecration. See Sūtra 61—'Niveditātmalokavedatvāt'.

(10) 'Tanmayāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to absorption in God. See Sūtra 70 ('Tanmayāḥ') which refers to this self absorption.

(11) 'Parama-virahāsakti' *i.e.* attachment to absolute self surrender in Him. See Sūtra 19—'tadvismaraṇe paramavyākulatā' *i.e.* feeling extremely uneasy in losing him from memory.

We need not point out any passages from the Gītā with regard to this Sūtra as this work has already been done under the various Sūtras of which the present Sūtra is a recapitulation.

Sūtra 83. Nārada here fortifies his own position by stating that there is a concensus of opinion on the points touched by him

in the present work, for, teachers of 'bhakti' such as Kumāra, Vyāsa, Śuka, Śāṇḍilya, Garga, Viṣṇu, Kauṇḍilya, Śeṣa, Uddhava, Vāruṇi, Balī, Hanumat, Bibhīṣaṇa, and others speak in this very strain, fearless of the prattle of the crowd.

I believe, the expression 'jana-jalpa-nirbhayāḥ' is not without its significance. Perhaps the 'Bhakti' school was in its infancy and there must have been a section of the public, if not a major part, that looked askance at all the tenets of the new school that was rising into prominance gradually.

We now turn to the Gītā and see whether any of the personages referred to by Nārada are to be found there. In XVIII, 75, Sanjaya says: "By the favour of Vyāsa I listened to this secret and supreme yoga from the Lord of Yoga, Kṛṣṇa himself speaking before my eyes." The next verse is X, 13, which refers to the contents of the preceding verse and says "All the Ṛṣis have thus acclaimed Thee, as also the divine Ṛṣi Nārada; so Asita, Devala and Vyāsa, and now Thou Thyself tellest it to me". In X, 37, Vyāsa is mentioned as the greatest of the Munis.

The name 'Viṣṇu' has been referred to in X, 21; XI, 24, 30; but it refers to God and not to a teacher of 'bhakti.'

These are the only references to names mentioned by Nārada. Some of the names seem to be legendary.

Sūtra 84. This Sūtra is the last of the Nārada Sūtras and gives us the 'phala-Śruti' quite like verses 68 to 71 of the XVIII, chapter of the Gītā. He who has faith in this wholesome doctrine expounded by Nārada obtains 'bhakti' and gains the dearmost object of his heart.

We have so far attempted a study of the parallelism of thought and expression between the Nārada Sūtras and the Gītā in all its details. We are inclined to draw the following conclusions on the basis of the facts before us:—

(1) The Sūtras of Nārada take their cue from the Gītā in almost all the doctrinal points touched by the latter work.

(2) Some of the Sūtras are nothing but verses of the Gītā turned into the laconic prose of the Sūtras.

(3) One Sūtra in particular *viz.* the 56th directly alludes to Gītā VII, I6, in the expression 'artādibhedāt.' This means that the Gītā was too familiar to the composer of the Sūtras to be mentioned by name. He seems to have thought that the mere mention of the word 'ārta' would at once remind the reader or the learner, of Gītā VII, 16.

(4) The eclectic spirit of the Gītā is absent in the Sūtras of Nārada though he owes a great debt to the Gītā so far as the subject-matter of his work is concerned. He has analysed the sentiment of 'bhakti' in a critical manner though on speculative lines.

(5) From the reference to the Gītā given by Śāṇḍilya in Sūtra 83 we may safely infer that the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras are posterior to the Gītā; further from the mention of Śāṇḍilya in the Nārada Sūtras it follows that the Nārada Sūtras belong to the post-Gītā period but are posterior to the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras.

(6) The degree of parallelism of expression noticieable between the Nārada Sūtras and the Gītā and the direct allusion to the Gītā in Sūtra 56 shuts out any probability of a common source for both the works.

(7) Sūtra 83, which mentions the names of various teachers of 'bhakti' uses the expression 'jana-jalpa-nirbhayāḥ' *i.e.* 'fearless of the prattle of the crowd'. This may signify that the cult of 'bhakti' which was being evolved must have been a matter for public criticism if not for open ridicule. It was surely not a religion universally popular at that time.

(8) The Nārada Sūtras seem to have been composed with a view to provide a concise and clear-cut guide to the followers of the Bhakti school.

(9) The reference to the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana in Sūtra 21 shows the Kṛṣṇa legend in a developed form, which is not found in the Gītā. So also the ideal of 'kāntāsakti' as mentioned in Sūtras 66 and 82 is a great advance in the critical analysis of 'bhakti' showing traces of a regular cult of 'bhakti'.

(10) The element of 'mahat-saṅg' which Nārada introduces in Sūtras 38 and 39 further shows the development of the Bhakti school. There must have been some such great men and the necessity of resorting to these as a medium between God and Man is apparent in the Nārada Sūtras. We do not find any such element in the Gītā which confines itself to the direct relation of God and Man.

(11) The illustrations and metaphors used by Nārada in his Sūtras (21, 23, 31, 32, 52) are quite original and have no parallel in the Gītā.

(12) In some places we notice an attempt to give specific explanations of certain terms such as 'nirodha' (S. 8); 'ananyatā' (S. 10); 'gauṇī' (56th S.). This is rather striking.

(13) Finally the mystic or intuitional character of 'bhakti has been brought home to our minds in Sūtra 52 (mūkāsvādanavat). We are taught further that it needs no help from logic, being self-evident (S. 59). Vain disputation is of no avail to the devotees as such discussion will know no end. (S. 74, 75). The preponderance of Faith over Reason is the key-note of the Nārada Sūtras, and while scholars may contend as to the main teaching of the Gītā, whether it is 'jnāna,' 'karma' or 'bhakti' Nārada lays it down with all possible emphasis: 'Bhaktireva garīyasī' (S. 81).

The following works have been used for reference in the preparation of this paper:—

(1) The Bhakti Sūtras of Nārada, edited by the Pāṇinī Office, Allahabad, 1917.

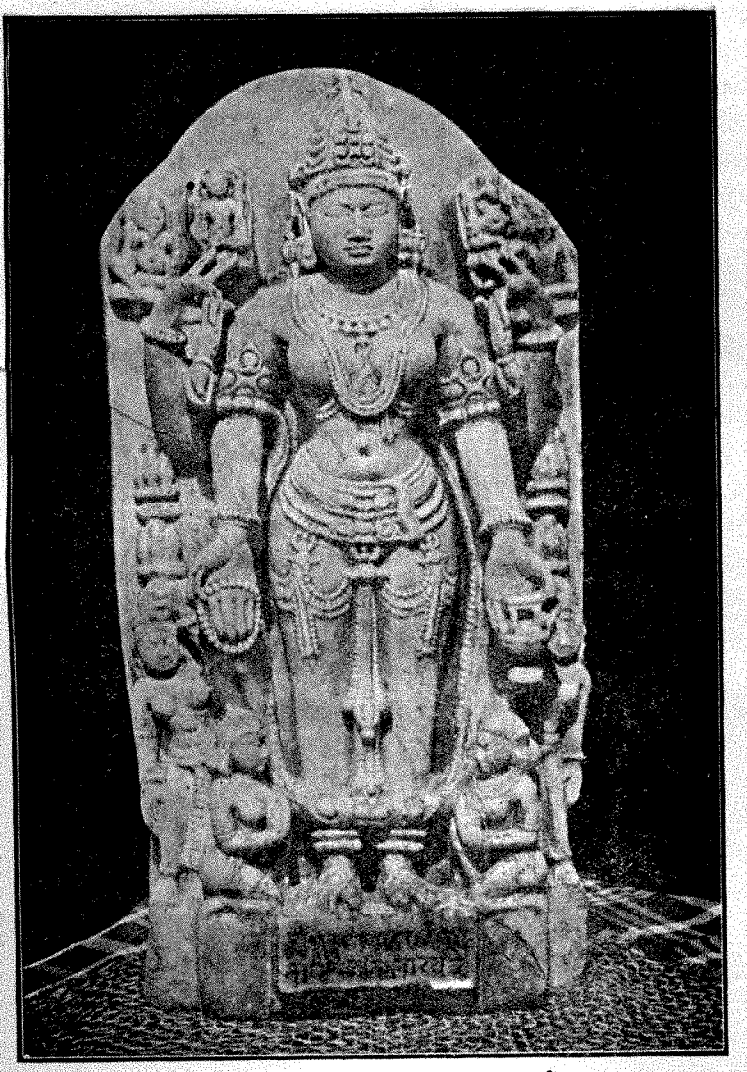
(2) The Bhagavadgītā, edited by Mrs. Annie Besant.

(3) Do. Do. Ānandāśram, Poona, with full word-index and other indices also.

(4) Aphorisms of Śāṇḍilya, edited by Dr. Ballantyne, (Bibliothica Indica) 1861.

(5) Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.

(6) The Nārada Pañca Rātra, edited by K. M. Banerjea (Bibliothica Indica).



DEVĪ-IMAGE AT DHĀR DATED SAMVAT 1138 (A.D. 1081.)

A SHORT NOTE ON THE DEVĪ-IMAGE AT DHĀR DATED SAMVAT 1138 (A. D. 1081)

K. K. LELE

1. *Discovery.* More than 150 years ago, the image was found by a Khatri officer of Dhār most probably Lālā Bhawāni Shankar whose name is seen inscribed on the Rāma Mandir of Mandu, built by Rāṇi Sakwār Bāi Saheb Pawār in the year 1769 A. D. It had remained imbedded in the silt of the Devī tank at Dhār for several years. Probably it was concealed there by the owner to save it from the iconoclastic frenzy of the Mahomedans. It is said, as in the case of the image of Rāma at Mandu and many others, the Lālā had dreamt of its existence previously. As it was mutilated a little in the thumbs of the two forehands, it was denied the honour of public consecration and adoration and remained since then in the possession of the family. Coming to my notice accidentally, two or three years ago, I managed to secure possession of it, and on rubbing off the coating of foreign matter accumulated over it found to my surprise and delight that it bore the date A. D. 1081, about 25 years after the death of the Great Rājā Bhoj of Dhār and Mālwā.

2. *The appearance, etc.* The Devī image is about 22½ inches tall and 10½ inches in breadth. It is cut out of hard white stone resembling marble. It is a beautiful specimen of the statuary art in the 11th century. The Goddess is in a standing posture four-handed, profusely ornamented and wearing a crown on the head and prayerful symbols in the hands. The ornaments are similar to those found on male and female images of the time. The Goddess seems to be immersed in deep meditation with serene eyes cast down-wards.

She has eight smaller figures about her, two on each side of the head and two on each side of the legs. The 1st figure about the head from the right is Brahmā, the Creator from his beard, the 2nd is Vishṇu the protector, the 3rd is Gaṇesh the God of Learning whose conveyance the mouse figures on the foot-stool, just below, and the 4th is Śiva the destroyer recognized from his trident.

The four figures about the feet are female attendants, two standing with Chauries in their hands, and two sitting with hands joined in a prayerful mood.

There are four crownlike symbols, two on each side above the heads of the standing female attendants. I could not make out what they meant. My friend Mr. M. B. Garde, Supdt. of Archaeology in the Gwalior State, suggests that they are Agnikuṇḍas or sacrificial altars with flames issuing from them, and adds that the image represents Pārvatī performing the penance known as Pañcāgni Sādhana, in which the Devotee stands or sits amidst five fires, the sun constituting the fifth. This ascetic penance, according to the Purāṇas, she was performing with the object of obtaining Śiva for her husband.

3. *Inscription on the seat.* There is a small prākṛt inscription on the seat in the Devanāgarī script of the 11th century, consisting of about 5 or 6 words and dated samvat 1138 (A. D. 1081). The following is an ink impression of it :—



It reads thus:—

1	2	3	4		
स	११३८	ज (द) स-हरः	भ(अ)ग्नि छि	(थि	ता (ना)
Sam	1138	Ja (da) sa ha raḥ,	Bha-gni-chhi	(thi)	Tā (nā)

5	6
पणमतिः	लारवर्ग्य
paṇa matiḥ	Lāravargya.

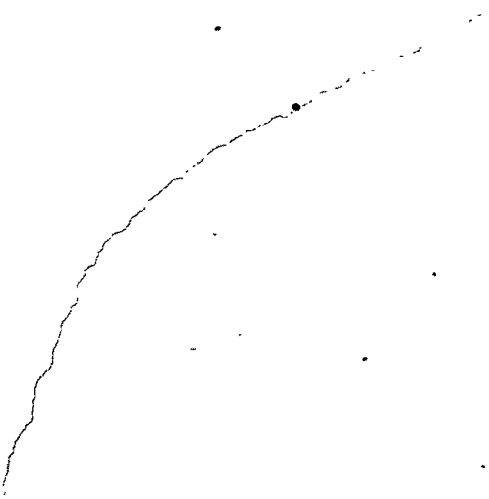
The orthography and Grammar seem to be questionable in some places; but the general import appears to be—that a person of the Lārā class (of Banias) dedicates the image in samvat 1138 corresponding to 1081 of the Christian Era. The literal translation of the whole cannot be given as the second and especially the third word has not been deciphered beyond doubt. Mr. Garde reads the second word as Jasaharaḥ and suggests that it may be the name of the consecrator of the image. While agreeing with Mr. Garde I beg to offer an alternative explanation of the word. I read it as Dasaharaḥ and infer from it the specific day, fortnight, and month of the year. For the symbolic name Dasaharaḥ (दसहरः) at once suggests them all to a Hindu mind. Now the Dasaharaḥ festival occurs in three months Caitra (चैत्र) Jyeṣṭha (ज्येष्ठ) and Aśvin (आश्विन) (September or October), of which the last is more probable in the present case, as it is dedicated to Durgā or Pārvatī who is worshipped during the first nine or ten days in this month all over India.

As regards the fourth word Mr. Garde suggests that it might be Agnithitam थितां स्थितां (Pārvatīm), that is to say, Pārvatī seated in the midst of the fires. Though probable this meaning is far fetched and little warranted by the spelling.

The Lārā Banias are among the oldest of the inhabitants of Dhār.

4. *Its importance from an historical point of view.* Though there is no specific name of any king or place, in the inscription, the image may be safely believed to be belonging to Dhār, first

because it was found there and secondly because the class of Lārā Banias referred to is counted among the oldest settlers of Dhār. From the date it can be inferred that the image was carved and consecrated in the reign of the Parmar King Udayāditya who reigned at Dhār between 1059 and 1081 A.D. and who was almost the immediate successor of Bhoj Deva under whom besides Sanskrit literature all arts and accomplishments flourished, and who entertained at his court expert engravers and carvers.



OUR MAHĀBHĀRATA WORK (II)

N. B. UTGIKAR

(The following paper was read at a meeting of the Bhandarkar Institute held on 23rd September 1922, under the Presidentship of Dr. H. H. Mann to welcome Professor Sylvain Lévi of Paris.)

I have been asked to formally bring to the notice of the illustrious guest of this evening one of the main activities of this Institute, viz., its work on the critical and illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata. I have been, however, warned against being too prolix. I gladly accept the duty set down for me with its limitations, and proceed to fulfil it, as best as I can.

I said just now that our Mahābhārata work is *only formally* to be brought to the notice of the great scholar to honour whom we have met here to-day, because Prof. Lévi's connection with our work almost begins with the very beginnings of its History. Our Mahābhārata work began with its Prospectus published at the hands of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in April 1919, and Professor Lévi's connection is not much less old. He was one of the earliest Trans-Indian savants who hailed with undisguised joy our great scheme. The Mahābhārata Department cherishes with pride a letter written by Prof. Lévi from Strassburg in December 1919. The letter gives expression not to any cold delight of the humanistic intellect: it contains very valuable suggestions which, I dare say, have been laid to heart by the persons concerned, and which in any case, will have to be carried out before our edition will actually be what it aspires to be. The interest thus evinced almost at the commencement of our work has been all along sustained. It is these encouraging signs that embolden me to stand before him and you all, on this occasion.

Looked at from a general point of view the question naturally arises as to why one should go in jubilations if a new—and even a critical edition of a work is to be brought out, be the work of so great an extent and antiquity as the Mahābhārata. Certainly,

there should be none. But then there are works and works. The Mahābhārata sharply distinguishes itself from all other ancient works, by the unique position it holds; it stands mid-way and provides the passage between the two ends of the Indian life and civilizations: it is a literature of its own, which in itself, and in its historical relations is of an all-surpassing interest, and its fascination no student can resist. But students of Indian and comparative civilizations are better qualified than I to speak more authoritatively with regard to the cultural influences of the Mahābhārata. My present purpose should be rather to explain one or two of the many problems that meet even the most superficial student of the "lower criticism" of the Mahābhārata, problems for the solution of which the work we have been doing materially helps.

I shall begin by taking the concrete case of a part of the Mahābhārata which has been very widely read and liked even from early times. I refer to the Virāṭaparvan the contents of which we all know. It is also the parvan, which more or less accidentally we fixed upon early to try our hands at, when we began our efforts to collate and compare the Manuscripts and the existent editions of the Mahābhārata. This Virāṭaparvan is also tentatively the first instalment of the Mahābhārata, which we decided to print, and which accordingly is now passing through the Press, three-fourths of it being already printed. It contains (1) the critically established text with the readings, (2) an Appendix, containing the verses and passages which are not, and which, in obedience to universally admitted principles of textual criticism, cannot be accepted into what we claim to be the original text of the Mahābhārata, and (3) notes which are of an exegetical and critical nature. In all 550 pages have been printed off up-to-now. Fifty more are in type; and some two-hundred pages more would complete the volume.[1]

[1] The volume is now ready, and contains 1090 pages; it will soon be issued:—[N. B. U. 31-1-23.]

With regard to this Virāṭaparvan there is also the interesting fact, and it is really more important than this all, viz. that it was taken over to Jāvā (this we do not know as yet exactly when) and was translated into the Kavi language of that island, this last in the year (approximately) 1000 A. D.[1] With this new edition of the Virāṭaparvan which it is hoped, will be in its entirety in the hands of all, in a couple of months' time hence, the question which was referred to before would naturally recur: wherein lies the newness of this newly printed thing: what is the difference between this and the old editions of the work? To this the reply is: if truth or a strictly faithful approximation to truth, be the end of all knowledge, then there should really be a great difference between the older editions of the Virāṭaparvan and the present one, howsoever defective the latter may be discovered to be in other respects. And how is this? Well, the Mahābhārata itself in all its Recensions—be it the Northern or the Southern, in all its editions and Mss. which we have so far been able to secure from the North and the South, and examine, states emphatically and almost with one voice that the true Virāṭaparvan should have 2050 verses i.e. ślokas (couplets) distributed into 67 Adhyāyas or Chapters. Without going into further details (which.[2] however, I was privileged to recount at a similar gathering held about two years ago in honour of another European guest, viz. Dr. Thomas of the India Office) it may be mentioned that this testimony of the Mahābhārata itself regarding its numerical strength and its distribution, is according to competent scholars, old by nearly 1300 years, the text where this statement occurs being known to Kumārila, the great Mīmāṁsā philosopher dated 700 A. D. (app.). Well, with this evidence, truth (and scholars who, if anything, are its devotees) found it hard to digest a Virāṭaparvan containing some 250 ślokas more than this number, divided into 72 instead of 67 chapters. If these additional 250 verses and 5 Adhyāyas

1 See Junyboll's Edition of this parvan, (1912) p. 97, Footnote 6.

2 For this and what follows, see Annals, Vol. II, p. 161 ff.

were more than what could be tolerated, about 2000 additional verses and 15 adhyāyas, i.e. in all, a Virāṭaparvan of some 4000 verses squared into some 75 chapters was indeed too much. Herein, as I think, comes, or should at least come the superiority of our work. We have been going to the Mss., and following the lead of unimpeachable principles of textual criticism, we are working to see if we could not have the truer, i.e. in this case, the shorter Virāṭaparvan. Fortunately for our work, our results have been eminently satisfactory and encouraging. The Mss. themselves without presenting a very different or externally much altered Mahābhārata, contain a text which almost spontaneously adjusts itself to the evidence of the Mahābhārata itself so often referred to. In the course of our work the Mss. themselves have also yielded what every unprejudiced reader will admit to be, an older and better text. Our new text runs, again, almost spontaneously, to the enumerated extent, and is distributed of its own accord into the well-ascertained number of chapters. What is thus true of one parvan, i.e. one part of the Mahābhārata, is true of another parvan also, which has been subjected to a similar critical examination; and the results of these preliminary examinations have been before the scholars for nearly two years[1] and they have been generally well received. Recurring to our main theme regarding the relative superiority of our work, we must put the matter into other—and what may at first sound blunt—words: the Mahābhārata text tradition which had been before the world for, we shall say, about a century, was only a second rate or third rate one, and also the conclusions based on this inferior text will have to be revised to a considerable extent, in the light of this new evidence disclosed by the Mss. and then, lastly, the unexpressed but silently entertained notion that an ancient text of the Mahābhārata which may reasonably be regarded as representing the text as it was when the whole Mahābhārata

1 *Viz.* in Annals; referred to above.

was finally redacted, was almost out of the question,—this notion will have to be also revised, and probably abandoned.

I owe it to the learned guest and to all of you to just indicate how all this is not mere words.

The combined evidence of Mss. of a superior order which have been now fortunately discovered, and that of the Javanese translation of the Virāṭaparvan enables us, as has been contended by the present writer in the Annals of this Institute, to assign the non-interpolated text of the Mahābhārata as preserved in certain Mss. to 500 A. D. Some may regard this date as a comparately modern date; but in the present position of the Mahābhārata text criticism, this is of great significence, if we remember that it was once seriously contended in spite of epigraphical evidence, that the Mahābhārata was substantially transformed and added to even so late as 1000 A. D., and that, even now some scholars are sceptical enough to hold that the date of each single line of the Mahābhārata must be decided on its own merit[1]. Apart, however, from this, the date of approximately 500 A. D. for the text in general of the Mbh. is corroborated by an independent testimony, which makes it almost certain that we have to-day essentially a text of the Mahābhārata as it was in 500 A. D. This piece of evidence is not of my discovery: it was brought to light by Hertel more than 10 years ago: and it is unfortunate that it has not been sufficiently recognised. In an article published in the Vienna Oriental Journal for 1911 (vol. 25, p. 37) and subsequently in his Das Pañctantra published in 1914, Hertel draws attention to the Pahalvi translation made of three Adhyāyas of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata along with the Pañcatantra and some other stories. This translation was executed by a Persian scholar Burzöe in the reign of the Persian King Chosrau Anoschasuwan (date 531-579 A. D.). This Persian translation is now lost, but a Syrian translation executed from this Persian original is in existence,

1 Winternitz, Geschichte, I, p. 339.

and by a comparison of this Syrian translation with the Sanskrit text of the Mahābhārata, Hertel has come to the conclusion (Pañcatantra p. 388) that the Syrian translation corresponds in all essentials to the metrical text of the three Adhyāyas of the Mahābhārata as we have it to-day, though one of these three adhyāyas has suffered more at the hands of the translator than the other two. The deviations from the Mahābhārata text, where the arrangement of the words has been fixed by the metre are as much striking as in the metrical parts of the Pañcatantra, and are to be ascribed not to any difference of the original from the present text, but for the most part to the relatively poor knowledge of the language, possessed by the translator.—This is a piece of evidence the value of which from the point of view of the Mahābhārata text criticism can scarcely be exaggerated.

My object in alluding to this point in this rather hasty and imperfect manner is two-fold. You, Sir, Prof. Lévi, are a master of not only the Sanskrit language and literature but of many others, which are a sealed book to most of us here. If in the course of your wide studies in the remote fields of the Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism and their literatures, you would suggest to us new points of view as you have recently done with regard to the Rāmāyaṇa[1], it would be a boon of paramount importance. Secondly, I wanted to indicate briefly that if by united and persistant efforts, we could refix the Mahābhārata in its rightful place, by vindicating the authenticity of the best, i.e. the oldest text tradition, a great service shall have been rendered to the cause of oriental critical scholarship. This will have effect, not only on the Mahābhārata problems, but also on many other outstanding questions of Indian Literary History, and on the wider question of the Brahmanic and Buddhistic elements in the spread of ancient Indian civilization.

It is in this spirit of aiding in the discovery of truth, or to put in a different way—aiding in removing the outer crust from one of the most powerful and attractive gems in the literary treasure of

1 Journal Asiatique, 1918 (p. 1 f, reprint).

India, that the Institute has embarked upon this toilsome voyage. It is long, long before the work would be over. It may even extend over a generation. However, the Institute has begun the work, and God blessing, it will be carried to the end, the spirit of the name which the Institute bears, guiding like the Polestar, the work to its destiny of completion.—It may naturally be asked as to how far we have proceeded in our work of examining and collating Manuscripts. The whole of the Mahābhārata excluding its Appendix the Harivaṁśa contains roughly 84000 couplets, and the different parvans of the Epic have been calculated to exist in 1200 different Mss. We have to this date collated *25000 couplets from about 85 Mss.* An examination of Mss. in other places in India and Europe has yet to be undertaken. An exhaustive and up-to-date catalogue of the Mss. of the Mahābhārata (in India and Europe) is one of the tasks contemplated in the immediate future. The collations which we have secured are mostly of Manuscripts in the Bombay Government Collections of Manuscripts, which the Institute now administers. This our collation will certainly be of immense use in guiding the scholars in the proposed examination of other Mss.

Reference may here be appropriately made to the European project of the Mahābhārata Edition. If search after truth be not only a national affair, but is an international duty, then here indeed is a cause, which provides, in its own restricted sphere, an opportunity for international co-operation. In this connection it is no divulging of secrets to say that the Institute is in possession of certain encouraging assurances from the quarters mainly concerned, foreshadowing a combination of the two works. Some of these assurances have been received so recently as by the last mail from Europe. If a combination could be brought about from all points of view-literary, financial and in very many other details, oriental scholarship will have to its credit the glory of not only giving the world a true and correct Mahābhārata, a feat of transcendental importance, but this additional one also of proving, that the East and West are

mere geographical terms, which the citizenship of the world, and the love of truth and light, totally ignore, and that the poet who wrote that the East and the West are no more to be separated had a more correct appreciation of the situation than the one, who, fate-trodden as he must have been, dolefully mourned that the East is East, and the West, the West and never the twain shall meet.



No. 3 Rd

PĀṆINI AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE UṆĀDI SŪTRAS

PROF. K. B. PATHAK, B.A.

The authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras has been discussed by many distinguished European Sanskrit Scholars. Prof. Max Müller and Dr. Aufrecht maintained that these Sūtras were anterior to Pāṇini, while Goldstücker, in his very elaborate study of Pāṇini, contends that this Grammarian composed only a list of Uṇādis but that the Uṇādi sūtras, as we have them, was the work of some later author. It may also be mentioned here that Vimala, a writer not later than the thirteeth century, claims the authorship of the Sūtras for Vararucikātyāyana, while Nāgojībhaṭṭa, a recent commentator, ascribes it to Śākatāyana, who preceded Pāṇini.

I shall first cite two passages which were overlooked by Goldstücker and in which Patañjali and Kātyāyana assure us that it was Pāṇini himself who composed the Uṇādi sūtras.

सार्वधातुकमपित् [ङित्] 1. 2. 4.

सार्वधातुकग्रहणं किमर्थम् ।

अपिदितीयत्युच्यमान आर्धधातुकस्याप्यनेनापितोऽङित्त्वं प्रसज्येत । कर्ता । हर्ता ।

नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानेनार्धधातुकस्यापितो ङित्त्वं भवतीति यदयमार्धधातुकीयान्कांश्चिन्ङितः करोति चङ्, अङ्, नजिङ्, ड्वनिप्, अथङ्, नङः ।

सार्वधातुकेऽप्येतज्ज्ञापकं स्यात् ।

नेत्याह । तुल्यजातीयस्य ज्ञापकम् ।

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः ।

यथाजातीयकाश्चङ्, अङ्, नजिङ्, ड्वनिप्, अथङ्, नङः । कथंजातीयकाश्चैते आर्धधातुकाः ॥

यद्येतदस्ति तुल्यजातीयस्य ज्ञापकमिति, चङ्ङौ लुङ्विकरणानां ज्ञापकौ स्याताम्, नजिङ्वर्तमान कालानां, ड्वनिब्भूत कालानाम्, अथङ्शब्द औणादिकानां, नङ्शब्दो घञर्थानाम् । तस्मात्सार्वधातुकग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

Mahābhāṣya
Kielhorn's 2nd ed. Vol. I, p. 193.
Nirṇaya. S. Press. ed. Vol. II, p. 5

Translation :—

[A "sārvadhātuka termination which is not पित् becomes ङित्" 1, 2, 4.

For what purpose is the word सार्वधातुक used here ?

If only the word अपित् were used the rule would hold good in the case of every ārdhadhātuka, which is not पित् such as कर्ता । हर्ता.

This is not a defect. The language used by the Ācārya (Pāṇini) indicates that by this, (every) ārdhadhātuka, which is not पित्, does not become ङित् since this Ācārya (Pāṇini) affixes ङ् (the indicatory letter) to (only) some ārdhadhātuka terminations, namely, चङ्, अङ्, नाजिङ्, ङ्वनिप्, अथङ् and नङ्.

This ज्ञापक(indication)would be also applicable to Sārvadhātukas.

No. says he; a ज्ञापक is applicable to a thing of the same kind.

What is meant by तुल्यजातीय?

Of the same kind as the terminations चङ्, अङ्, नाजिङ्, ङ्वनिप्, अथङ् and नङ्.

Of what kind are these ?

Ārdhadhātukas.

If it were true that a ज्ञापक would apply to things of the same kind, then a ज्ञापक of चङ् and अङ् would apply to all the Vikaraṇas of लुङ्, that of नाजिङ् would apply to all present tenses, that of ङ्वनिप् to all denoting past tense.

The ज्ञापक of the termination अथङ् would be applicable to all Uṇādi terminations, that of नङ्, to all the senses of घञ्. Therefore, the use of the term सार्वधातुक is essential in this Sūtra.]

This passage in the Mahābhāṣya is most interesting from a historical point of view. It suggests important reflections. Here Patañjali says that Pāṇini affixes the sign ङ् to seven terminations. Of these terminations five occur in the following Sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī:—

विभाषा धेट्श्व्योः [कर्तरि चङ्] III, 1, 49.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् III, 1, 52.
जृस्तम्भुमुचुम्लुचुग्रुचुग्लुचुग्लुञ्चुश्विभ्यश्च [वा अङ्] III, 1,58.
सुयजोर्ङ्वनिप् III, 2, 103.
खपितृषोर्नजिङ् III, 2, 172.
यज वाच यत विच्छ प्रच्छरक्षोनङ् III, 3, 90.

The remaining termination अथङ् which, Patañjali says, is आणादिक and to which Pāṇini affixes ङ्, is actually found in the following Uṇādi Sūtras :—

शीङ् शपिरु गमिवच्यिजीवि प्राणिभ्योऽथः III, 113.
भृञश्चित् [अथः] III, 114.
रुदिविदिभ्यां [अथः] डित् III, 115.
उपसर्गे वसेः [अथः डित्] III, 116.

Patañjali is not content with giving his opinion about Pāṇini's authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras, but hastens to fortify his position by citing the authority of his predecessor Kātyāyana in a second passage thus :—

अथ किमर्थं पृथङितिकतौ क्रियेते न सर्वं किदेव वा स्यान्ङिदेव वा ।
पृथगनुबन्धत्वे प्रयोजनं वचिस्वपियजादीनामसंप्रसारणं सार्वधातुकचङादिषु ॥८॥

पृथगनुबन्धत्वे प्रयोजनं वचिस्वपियजादीनामसंप्रसारणं सार्वधातुके चङादिषुच ॥ सार्वधातुके प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति सुप्तः सुप्तवानित्येवं स्वपितः स्वपिथः अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ॥ चङादिषु प्रयोजनम् । के पुनश्चङादयः । चङङ्णिङ्ङ्निबथङ्नङः । चङ् । यथेह भवति शूनः शूनवानित्येवमशिश्वियत् अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । अङ् । यथेह भवति शूनः उक्त इत्येवमश्वत् अवोचत् अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । नजिङ् । यथेह भवति सुप्त इत्येवं स्वप्नक् अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । ङ्वनिप् । यथेह भवतीष्ट इत्येवं यज्वा अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । अथङ् । यथेह भवत्युषित इत्येवमावसथः अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । नङ् । यथेह भवतीष्टमित्येवं यज्ञः अत्रापि प्राप्नोति.

Mahābhāṣya
Nirṇaya Sāg. ed, Vol. II, p. 4.
Kielhorn's 2nd ed. Vol. I, p, 192.

Translation:—

[For what purpose then are two separate letters, ङ् and क् made indicatory (by Pāṇini); why should not every thing be either कित् or ङित्?

The reason for separate indicatory letters is the absence of संप्रसारण in the case of वच्, स्वप् and यजादि roots before (अपित्) Sārvadhātuka terminations as well as before चङ् and other terminations.

Reason as regards सार्वधातुक.

Just as सुप्तः, सुप्तवान् have संप्रसारण, so स्वपितः and स्वपिथः would undergo the same change.

Reason in the case of चङ् and other terminations.

What are चंङादि terminations? चङ्, अङ्, नजिङ्, ङ्वनिप्, अथङ् and नङ्.

चङ्—as in शूनः, शूनवान् so also there would be संप्रसारण in आशिश्रियत्

अङ्—as in शूनः, उक्तः, so also there would be संप्रसारण in अश्वत्, अवोचत्.

नजिङ्—as in सुप्तः, so also there would be संप्रसारण in स्वप्तक्.

ङ्वनिप्—as in इष्टः, so also there would be संप्रसारण in यज्वा.

अथङ्—as there is संप्रसारण in उषित [before क्त] so also there would be संप्रसारण in आवसथ.

नङ्—as in इष्ट so also in यज्ञ there would be संप्रसारण.

Those who have studied Pāṇini's system of grammar, are aware of the fact that words which take कित् or ङित् terminations do not undergo गुण. If the prevention of गुण is to be indicated by the use of both these letters क् and ङ् this purpose can be easily served by employing either क् or ङ्; it is unnecessary to use both letters. Kātyāyana, however, tells us that Pāṇini has a special reason for using both letters. Certain words which undergo संप्रसारण before कित् terminations, do not undergo this change before ङित् terminations. Patañjali illustrates Kātyāyana's view by giving concrete instances. We are here only concerned with the root वस् which forms its past participle in क्त as उषित, while the

same root gives the word आवसथ when the औणादिक प्रत्ययः अथङ् is added to it. It is thus clear that Pāṇini has affixed the sign ङ् to the Uṇādi termination अथ in order to indicate the fact that the letter व in the sanskrit word आवसथ "a house" does not change into उ.

I have already quoted above the four Uṇādi sūtras which teach the formation of the word आवसथ. Kaiyaṭa thus refers to the last two sūtras:—

रुदि विदिभ्यां डिरित्यतो ङिदिति वर्तमाने उपसर्गे वसेरित्यथप्रत्ययः

Nāgojībhaṭṭa remarks:—

अथङिति। एवमानुपूर्वीक एव प्रत्यय इतिभावः॥ अन्यथा फलाभावात् उपसर्गे-वसेरित्यत्र ङिदित्यननुवृत्तौ भाष्यसंगतिः स्पष्टैवेति केचित्।

The text and the order of these four Uṇādi sūtras, as they are preserved by Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita and his Commentator Jnānendra-sarasvati, must have been identical with those known to Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojībhaṭṭa, as is evident from the statements of these authorities quoted above. These facts will suffice to convince sanskrit scholars that the Uṇādi Sūtras were composed by Pāṇini himself.

Another interesting fact to which I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars is that Patañjali speaks of the Uṇādi terminations as आर्धधातुकीयाः and आर्धधातुकाः in the passages discussed above. Pāṇini defines आर्धधातुक thus:—

तिङ्शित् सार्वधातुकम् III, 4, 113.

आर्धधातुकम् शेषः III, 4, 114.

These two Sūtras occur nearly towards the end of the 3rd Adhyāya of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Patañjali says that the term शेषः "remaining" has reference to those terminations which have been already enumerated in this Adhyāya:—

अनुक्रान्तापेक्षं शेषग्रहणम्

Kaiyaṭa explains:—

ये प्रत्ययास्तिङ्शिद्वर्जितास्ते आर्धधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति नत्वनुक्रम्यमाना इत्यर्थः

And the Sūtra: परश्च occurs at the beginning of this very Adhyāya.

परश्च III, 1, 2.

अयमप्यधिकारो योगे योग उपतिष्ठते परिभाषा वा ..... चकारः पुनरस्यैव समुच्चयार्थः, तेनोणादिषु परत्वं न विकल्प्यते. Kāśikā. III, 1, 2.

The Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi explains :—

अथ चकारः किमर्थः? यावता नात्र किञ्चित् प्रकृतमस्ति यच्चकारेण समुच्चीयत इत्याह चकारः पुनरित्यादि। अन्यस्य समुच्चेतव्यस्याभावादस्यैव समुच्चयार्थश्चकारो विज्ञायते। तेन बहुलाधिकारेऽपि ये प्रत्यया विधीयन्ते तेष्वप्युणादिषु परत्वं न विकल्प्यते। किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते? परो यथा स्यात् पूर्वोमाभूदिति।

Haradatta endorses the Nyāsakāra's view thus :—

तेनेति। अन्यथा बहुलवचनस्य सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थत्वादुणादिषु परत्वास्यापि विकल्पः संभाव्येत।

This view is confirmed by the Kārikā cited by Patañjali:—

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे।

The gist of these passages is that the Adhikāra Sūtra परश्च III, 1, 2, which is at the beginning of the first pāda of the third Adhyāya of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, exercises its authority over the Uṇādi sūtras occurring at the commencement of the third pāda of the same Adhyāya just below the Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra: उणादयो बहुलम III, 3, 1, and indicates that the Uṇādi terminations come immediately after the verbal roots in the Uṇādi sūtras. While Patañjali calls these terminations आर्धधातुकीयाः or आर्धधातुकाः, Kātyāyana frequently refers to them as कृत्प्रत्ययाः as they come under the definition कृदतिङ् III, 1, 93. The conclusion that can be drawn from these facts is that the Uṇādi sūtras form an integral part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Let us now proceed to discuss the authorship of the verses descriptive of the Uṇādi sūtras cited in the Mahābhāṣya and the Kāśikā, and explained by Patañjali, the Nyāsakāra, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta.

उणादयो बहुलम् III 3, 1,

बहुलवचनं किमर्थम्?

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसरोषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।
यन्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

Translation :—

[Why is the word **बहुलम्** used here ?

बाहुलकम् (**बहुलम्**) is used in order to point out the small number of verbal bases, to which Uṇādi terminations are affixed (in this Uṇādi treatise); moreover, some Uṇādi terminations only are collected here. The word **बाहुलकम्** or **बहुलम्** is also used to denote that some operations such as **वृद्धि, संप्रसारण** etc. are but imperfectly described here, because Vedic words and words current in society are very excellent.

Every noun is said to be derived from a verbal root in Nirukta and Śākaṭāyana says the same thing in grammar. In case specific verbal bases or terminations are not given here, such bases, are to be conjectured from terminations given here, or such terminations are to be conjectured from verbal bases given here.

In words possessing conventional meanings, forms of verbal roots appear first, then follow terminations; symbolical letters are distinguishable by means of operations such as **संप्रसारण, वृद्धि** etc. This is the teaching in the Uṇādis.]

Before these introductory verses the Kāśika reads :—

वर्तमान इत्येव, संज्ञायामिति च । उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवति। Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta say that **वर्तमाने** is obtained by **अनुवृत्ति** from **वर्तमाने लट्** III, 2,123, and **संज्ञायाम्** from **पुवः संज्ञायाम्** III, 2,185.

If the three words वर्तमाने, संज्ञायाम् and बहुलम् are adhikāras, and they can be adhikāras to the Uṇādi Sūtras only, a question naturally arises, why are they repeated in the following Uṇādi Sūtras:—

वर्तमाने पृषद्बृहन्महज्जगच्छतृवच्च II, 84.

घृषेर्धिषः च संज्ञायाम् II, 82.

बहुलमन्यत्रापि II, 37, 49 etc.

Jinendrabuddhi replies:—

भूतेपि दृश्यन्त इति (III, 3, 2) वचनाद् भूतेपि पृषदादयोभवन्तीत्याशङ्कानिवृत्त्यर्थम् । वर्तमानग्रहणं प्रकृताया एव संज्ञाया अनुवृत्तेर्दृढीकरणार्थम् । पुनः संज्ञाका (क)रणं बहुलवचनादसंज्ञायामपि भवन्तीत्याशङ्कानिवृत्त्यर्थं वा । अस्यैव बहुलस्य स्मरणार्थं पुनर्बहुलग्रहणम् । एवं हि विस्मरणशीलानामनुग्रहः कृतो भवति.

So then Pāṇini himself who composed the sūtra उणादयो बहुलम् III. 3, 1 repeats the word बहुलम् very often in his Uṇādi sūtras to refresh the memory of forgetful students.

Jinendrabuddhi adds:—

अन्यैरपि प्रमाणपुरुषैर्नैगमरूढिभवानां व्युत्पाद्यत्वमभ्युपेतमिति दर्शयितुमाह नाम च धातुजमित्यादि । निरुक्त इति । निरुक्ते शास्त्रे नामेति प्रातिपदिकम् ।

तस्यहीयमन्याचार्यसंज्ञा । निरुक्तकारः स्वशास्त्रे निरुक्ते प्रातिपदिकं धातुजमाह न केवलं निरुक्तकार एवेहापितु.....व्याकरणेऽपि यः शकटस्य पुत्रः शाकटायनः सोपि-नाम धातुजमेवाह ।

Kaiyaṭa says:—

नैगमरूढिभवानां व्याकरणेऽस्मिन् व्युत्पादनादसंदिग्धं साधुत्वमवगम्यत इत्यर्थ । अन्यैरप्याचार्यैः शब्दानां प्रकृत्यादि विभागेन व्युत्पादनमभ्युपगतमित्याह नामेति.

Haradatta remarks:—

अन्यैरप्याचार्यैं नैगमरूढिभवानां प्रकृत्यादिविभागेन व्युत्पादनं कृतमतोऽस्माभिरपि तत्कर्तव्यमेवेत्यभिप्रायेणाह नाम चेति । निरुक्तकारो हि यास्क आचार्यः स्वशास्त्रे निरुक्ते सर्वमेव नाम धातुजमाह । तोकमित्यपत्यनाम शकटस्य च तोक शाकटायनः।

Here अन्यैः प्रमाणपुरुषैः, अन्यैः आचार्यैः refer to teachers other than Pāṇini. From those passages it is also obvious that in the opinion of these commentators Pāṇini composed not only the Uṇādi sūtras but the introductory verses also, and the statement, नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्। is not only a paraphrase of Yāska's words नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च but is actually suggested by them.

This interesting fact is amply confirmed by a comparison of some statements in Yāska's Nirukta with the corresponding Uṇādi Sūtras thus :—

(1)	Yāska says, (I, 13) प्रथनात्पृथिवीत्याहुः	Pāṇini प्रथेः षिवन् संप्रसारणंच Uṇādi I, 156 पृथिवी.
(2)	Yāska I, 20 भीमो बिभ्यत्यस्माद्भीष्मोप्येतस्मादेव.	Pāṇini भियः घुरवा, भीमः भीष्मः Uṇādi I, 158.
(3)	Yāska II, 5 गौरिति पृथिव्या नामधेयं यद्दूरगता भवति यच्चास्यां भूतानि गच्छन्ति.	Pāṇini गमेर्डोः Uṇādi II, 235.
(4)	Yāska I, 18 स्थाणु तिष्ठतेरर्थेतैः	Pāṇini स्थोणु Uṇādi III, 324. उषिकुषिगार्तिभ्यस्थन् Uṇādi II, 4.
(5)	Yāska II, 27 अश्वः कस्मादश्नुतेऽध्वानम्	Pāṇini अश्नुप्रुषिलटिकणिखटिविशिभ्यःक्वन् Uṇādi I, 151.
(6)	Yāska VII, 24 घृतमित्युदकनाम जिघर्तेः सिञ्चतिकर्मणः	Pāṇini अंजिघृसिभ्यःक्तः Uṇādi III, 89.
(7)	Yāska IV, 17 रयिरिति धननाम रातेर्दानकर्मणः	Pāṇini रातेर्डैः Uṇādi II, 66.
(8)	Yāska III, 21 स्त्रियः स्त्यायतेः अपत्रपणकर्मणः	Pāṇini स्त्यायतेर्ड्रट्, स्त्री Uṇādi IV, 165.
(9)	Yāska X, 42 इन्दुरिन्धेरुनत्तेर्वा	Pāṇini उन्देरिच्चादेः, इन्दुः Uṇādi I, 13.
(10)	Yāska IV, 9 लक्ष्मीर्लक्षणाद्वा	Pāṇini लक्षेर्मुट्च Uṇādi III, 160.
(11)	Yāska VIII, 12, I, 7 द्रविणं यदनेनाभिद्रवन्ति दक्षिणा दक्षतेः	Pāṇini दुदक्षिभ्यामिनन् Uṇādi II, 50.

(12) Yāska III, 5
इमश्रु श्मनिश्रितंभवति

Pāṇini
श्मनि श्रयते ड्रुन् Uṇādi V, 28.

(13) Yāska IX, 27
आपः आप्नोतेः

Pāṇini
आप्नोतेर्ह्रस्वश्च Uṇādi II, 58.

(14) Yāska X, 7
रुद्रः रोदयतेर्वा

Pāṇini
रोदेर्णिलुक्च Uṇādi II, 22.

(15) Yāska II, 18
रात्रिः रातेर्वास्यात् दानकर्मणः

Pāṇini
रात्रादिभ्यां मिप् Uṇādi IV, 67.

(16) Yāska XI, 32
राका रातेर्दानकर्मणः

Pāṇini
कृदाधारार्चिकलिभ्यः कः
Uṇādi III, 40.

(17) Yāska II, 6
वृक्षोश्रश्चनात्

Pāṇini
स्नुभ्राश्चिकृत्यृषिभ्यः कित् [सः]
Uṇādi III, 66.

(18) Yāska III, 10
तळित्...ताडयतीति सतः

Pāṇini
ताडेर्णिलुक्च Uṇādi I, 100.

(19) Yāska VI, 8
कृप् कृपतेर्वा कल्पतेर्वा

Pāṇini
कृपोरोलः
Aṣṭādhyāyī VIII, 2, 18.

(20) Yāska III, 14
तस्करस्तत्करोभवति यत्पापकमिति नैरुक्ताः

Pāṇini
तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च

Yāska X, 12
बृहस्पतिर्बृहतः पाता वा पालयिता वा

Pāṇini
तस्करश्चोरः । बृहस्पतिदेवता
Aṣṭādhyāyī VI, 1, 157.

(21) Yāska says (II, 2.)
तत्राप्येकेऽल्पनिष्पत्तयोभवन्ति तद्यथैतदूतिर्मृदुः पृथुः पृषतः कुणारुमिति

Pāṇini has accordingly
प्रथिम्रदिभ्रस्जां.(कुः) संप्रसारणं सलोपश्च Uṇādi I, 29.
पृ (प्र) षिरंजिभ्यां (अतच्) कित् Uṇādi III, 111

The masculine noun **पृषतः**, a spotted antelope, is formed with the termination **अतच्** which is **कित्**, from the root **प्रुष स्तेहन सेवन सेचनेषु** of the 9th conjugation. This root **प्रुष्** undergoes **संप्रसारण** before the **कित्** termination, as has been explained above. The neuter noun **पृषत्** is separately derived form **पृषु** of the 1st conjugation.

वर्तमाने पृष द्रुहन्महज्जगच्छतृवच्च Uṇādi II, 84.

From the instances given above we can easily conclude that Pāṇini has taken these etymologies form Yāska's Nirukta, and in forming his Uṇādi sūtras, has utilized his own anubandhas. I invite attention to the interesting fact that in the Uṇādi sūtra forming **पृथिवी** the letter **ऋ** is an anubhandha; **पृथिवी** takes **ङीष्** (**ई**) according to the Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra **षिद्भौरादिभ्यश्च** IV, 41. while the same letter in the Uṇādi sūtra teaching the formation of **भीष्म** is not an anubandha, as it forms part of the word itself. Therefore Pāṇini says

कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ।

Pāṇini has volunteered the explanation that these etymologies are according to the school of the Niruktakāras and Śākaṭāyana as their opinions are reproduced in Yāska's great work. These etymologies are offered for what they are worth. This treatise does not represent Pāṇini's personal views. He was aware of the heated controversy that had been raging over the origin of words for more than a century at least before his time between the followers of Śākaṭāyana and the Niruktakāras on one hand and the followers of the grammarian Gārgya on the other. Pāṇini asserts his independence of judgment and gives occasionally proofs of his leanings towards the school of Gārgya. Though in his Uṇādi treatise he forms the noun **ईश्वर** and its feminine **ईश्वरी**

अश्रोतेराशुकर्मणिवरट्च un. V, 57.

चकारादुपधाया ईश्वम् ईश्वरः, ईश्वरी

Pāṇini prefers to derive this word meaning "a ruler" from the root ईश् to rule, with its feminine ईश्वरा thus :—

स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच्

Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra III, 11, 175.

The word कंस is derived from the root कम् in Uṇādi sūtra :

वृतृवदिहनिकमिकषिभ्यः सः Uṇādi III, 62

"This is according to the Nirukta school" says Pāṇini but as a follower of the Gārgya school, I think the word can not be traced to any root अतः कृकमिकंस

Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtra VIII, 3, 46

अयस्कामः, अयस्कंसः

One more instance will suffice for my purpose: Yāska says (III, 19)

"स्तेनः कस्मात् संस्त्यानमस्मिन् पापकमिति नैरुक्ताः"

Durga explains :—

आह "स्तेनः कस्मात्"? उच्यते— "संस्त्यानम्" संहतम् "अस्मिन्" "पापकम्" कर्म भवति "इति" एवं "नैरुक्ताः" मन्यन्ते ॥ वैयाकरणानाममन्यथापि स्यादित्यभिप्रायः

The followers of Gārgya objected to this etymology that स्तेन but not स्त्येन with य in the first syllable is frequently found in the Rgveda. Pāṇini, however, gives this Nirukta specimen of derivation in the Uṇādi sūtra :—

स्यास्त्याहृञ्विभ्य इनच्

Uṇ. II, 46.

but prefers to trace the word to the root स्तेनचौर्ये elsewhere :—

स्तेनाद्यन्नलोपश्च

Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtra V, 1, 125.

in order to form the word स्तेय.

I have thus traced the origin of the two schools of thought among sanskrit grammārians the व्युत्पत्तिपक्ष and the अव्युत्पत्तिपक्ष and have described the influence which they have exercised over Pāṇini's writings. I have also established the priority of Yāska to Pāṇini by unimpeachable evidence.

It is necessary to state here that Yāska's words

अथापि द्विवर्णलोपस्तृचि इति (II, 2.)

has manifestly suggested Kātyāyana's vārtika

ऋचि त्रेरुत्तरपदादिलोपच्छन्दसि VI, 1, 37.

and Patañjali quotes the passages

षड्भावविकारा इति ह स्माह वार्ष्यायणिः। जायतेऽस्ति विपरिणमते वर्द्धते ऽपक्षीयते विनश्यतीति, शवतिर्गतिकर्माकम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति।

from Yāska's Nirukta.

It is thus clear that Yāska preceded Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

Dr. Aufrecht draws attention to the fact that in one place (II, 38) we are told that the people of the north used the word कार्शक for 'a husbandman,' in another (IV, 128), that they employed कारि in the meaning of 'an artisan.' But he has omitted to state that the other forms कर्शक and कारि are given by the commentator. Dr. Aufrecht also remarks, "in another place (III, 144) we find the name of Cākravarmaṇa, an old grammarian, who is only once more quoted, namely in Pāṇini VI, 1, 130." Here also Dr. Aufrecht has failed to indicate the purpose for which the old grammarian is mentioned. In the opinion of Cākravarmaṇa alone, the word कुणप receives the उदात्तस्वर on the second syllable, while in the opinion of other authors including the author of the Uṇādi Sūtras, the उदात्तस्वर lies on the first syllable of the word कुणप. Thus the mention of उदीचाम् and चाक्रवर्मण in the Uṇādi Sūtras is intended to denote विकल्प or option as regards वृद्धि and उदात्तस्वर.

It is a well-known fact that Pāṇini introduces into his Sūtras the terms उदीचाम् and प्राचाम् and the names of Āchāryas to denote विकल्प.

उदीचामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः VII, 3, 46,

आर्यका। आर्यिका। चटकका। चटाकिका।

Kāśikā remarks उदीचां ग्रहणं विकल्पार्थम्।

ई 3 चाक्रवर्मणस्य VI, 1, 130.

अस्तु हीत्यब्रवीत् । अस्तु ही इत्यब्रवीत् ।

Kāśikā says चाक्रवर्मणग्रहणं विकल्पार्थम् ।

In his Vārtika on the Sūtra नवेति विभाषा I, 1, 44 Kātyāyana says :—

आचार्यदेशशीलने च तद्विषयता ।

Patañjali explains आचार्यशीलनेन देशशीलनेन च यदुच्यते, तस्य तद्विषयता प्राप्नोति "इको-ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य (VI, 3,61). प्राचामवृद्धात् फिन् बहुलम् (IV 1, 160) इति । गालवा एव ह्रस्वान् प्रयुञ्जीरन्, प्राक्षुचैव हि फिन् स्यात् ।

The optional forms here indicated are ग्रामणिपुत्रः and ग्रामणीपुत्रः । ग्लु चु कायनिः and ग्लौचुकिः. In the same connection Patañjali remarks :—

आचार्यः खल्वपि संज्ञामारभमाणो भूयिष्टमन्यैरपि शब्दैरेतमर्थं संप्रत्याययति—बहुलम्, अन्यतरस्याम् उभयथा, वा, एकेषाम्, इति ।

In this passage आचार्य means पाणिनि. Similarly the word प्राचाम् in the sūtra गुरोरनृतोऽनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् (VIII, 2,86)

is explained as denoting विभाषा by Kātyāyana and Patañjali and the Kāśikā commenting on the sūtra (IV, 1, 160) says

उदीचां प्राचामन्यतरस्यां बहुलमिति सर्व एते विकल्पार्थाः ।

Again in his vārtika on न यासयोः (VII, 3, 45) Kātyāyana says

वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाम् ॥ ९ ॥

Patañjali adds, प्राचामिति किमर्थम् । वर्तिका ।

The Kāśikā remarks :—

वर्तका शकुनिः । प्राचामन्यत्र उदीचां तु वर्तिका ।

Pāṇini, who was an Udīcya, because he was a native of Gāndhāra, composed the following Uṇādi sūtra, explaining the formation of the word वर्तिका thus :—

वृतेस्तिकन् Uṇādi sūtra III, 146.

Ujjvaladatta says,*

वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचां । पा. ७, ३, ४५, ९. । इत्यकारस्येत्वेऽविधेये वार्तिकारंभाद्वृतेण्वुल् वर्तिकेतिच् व्याख्यातत्वादस्या नार्षता लक्ष्यते ।

Here the allusion is to Haradatta's words वृतेर्ण्यन्तात् ण्वुल्, वर्तिका ।

Ujjvaladatta has left out the words प्यन्तात्. Haradatta's explanatoin applies to वार्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य "a commentary describing the Lokāyata doctrine," which is a counter instance to शकुनाविति किम्? Thus the doubt thrown on the genuineness of this Uṇādi sūtra is groundless. The प्राच्यदेश and the उदीच्यदेश referred to in the above discussion is thus described :—

लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षं शरावत्यास्तु योवधेः ।

देशः प्राग्दक्षिणः प्राच्य उदीच्यः पश्चिमोत्तरः ॥

शरावत्या नद्या मर्यादायाः प्राक् सहचरितो दक्षिणो देशः प्राच्यः ॥ ६ ॥ शरावत्या अवधेः पश्चिमेन सहचरित उत्तरो देशः (उदीच्यः), यदाह

प्रागुदञ्चौ विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदके यथा ।
विदुषां शब्दसिध्यर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती ॥ काशिका.

Amarakośa. Oka's Ed. Vol. I, P. 47

Dr. Aufrecht's correction into वार्त्तिका शकुनौ प्राचाम् shows that he has failed to understand the reference.

Another point which is worth noting here is that Ujjvaladatta says under Uṇādi Sūtra III, 113.

अथ प्रत्ययोऽयमितिभाष्यं । तदुक्तं । के पुनश्चडादयः चङ् नजिङ् ङ्वानिबथङ् नङ इति ॥

I quote this from Dr. Aufrecht's edition p. 86. In the Notes we are asked to "see Patañjali on P. I, 2, 1." This reference will convince sanskrit scholars that Dr. Aufrecht has entirely failed to grasp the meaning of the second passage in the Mahābhāṣya which has been explained above, and has besides done gross injustice to Ujjvaladatta, who intended that the Sūtra उपसर्गे वसेः should come immediately after the Sūtra रुविदिभ्यां ङित् thus :—

रु विदिभ्यां ङित्
उपसर्गे वसेः [अथः ङित्] आवसथ

So that the termination अथ being made ङित् by अनुवृत्ति by the Ācārya Pāṇini indicates, in the opinion of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, the fact that the व of the root वस् in the word आवसथ does

not undergo संप्रसारण. The position of the Sūtra भृञश्चित् remains unaffected by this change, as is plain from the following sequence of the Sūtras :—

शीङ् शपि रु गमि वंचि जीवि प्राणिभ्योऽथः III, 113.
भृञश्चित् [अथः] III, 114.
रु विदिभ्यां ङित् [अथः] III, 115.
उपसर्गे वसेः [अथः ङित्] III, 116.

The sūtra भृञश्चित् can not precede the sūtra शीङ &c as अथ has to be obtained by अनुवृत्ति to form भरथ. Nor can the sūtra भृञश्चित् follow रु विदि etc. as भृ in भरथ undergoes गुण. It is thus clear that Pāṇini composed these four Uṇādi Sūtras in the order in which they were known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, as is explained by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojībhaṭṭa. The three important passages in the Mahābhāṣya, which have been explained above, were entirely over looked by Goldstücker, who maintained that the Uṇādi sūtras were not composed by Pāṇini. In support of his contention Goldstücker relies upon some other passages which he has misunderstood and misinterpreted. The first passage under Sūtra VII, 1, 2 is given below. In this passage there are three vārtikas, dealing with Uṇādi sūtras, which are explained by Patañjali. It must be emphasized here that none of these three vārtikās is assailed by Patañjali who merely confines himself to explaining Kātyāyana's views.

तत्रोणादिप्रतिषेधः ।
तत्रोणादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः शङ्कः शण्ढ इति ।
धातोर्वैयङ्वचनात् ।

अथवा यदयमृतेरीयङ् [३-१-२९] इति धातो रीयङं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो न धातुप्रत्ययानामायनादयो भवन्तीति । यदि हि स्यु ऋते श्छडि त्येव ब्रूयात् । सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति न च तें श्छडा सिध्यति । छडि सति वलादिलक्षण इट्प्रसज्येत । इटि कृते ऽनादित्वादादेशो न स्यात् ॥ इदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । इट्कियतामा-देश इति । किमत्र कर्तव्यम् परत्वादिडागमः । नित्य आदेशः । कृते ऽपीटि प्राप्नोत्य-कृते ऽपि । अनित्य आदेशो न हि कृत इटि प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अनादित्वात् । अन्तरङ्ग स्तर्ह्यादेशः । क्वान्तरङ्गता । इदानीमेव ह्युक्तमायनादिषूपदेशिवद्वचनं स्वरसिध्यर्थमिति । तदेतदृतेरीयङ्वचन ज्ञापकमेव न धातुप्रत्ययानामायनादयो भवन्तीति ॥

प्रातिपदिक विज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् ॥ प्रातिपदिक विज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिने राचार्यस्य सिद्धम् । उणादयो ऽ व्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ॥

[*1st Vārtika*

Those the Uṇādi words form an exception.

Bhāṣya

There (in the Uṇādi Sūtras) the Uṇādi words must be pronounced exceptions such as शङ्ख and शण्ढ.

2nd Vārtika

Or on account of Pāṇini's statement that the root (ऋति) takes इयङ्, (verbal terminations do not change into आयन् etc.)

Bhāṣya

Or as the Ācārya Pāṇini teaches that the termination इयङ् should be added to the root ऋति so as to form ऋतीयते he indicates thereby that verbal terminations such as ख and ढ are not to be changed into आयन् etc; otherwise he would have said ऋतेश्छङ्. It is objected that if ऋतीयते could be formed with छङ् then only a ज्ञापक would be drawn. But it can not be formed as छङ् takes इडागम and becomes इच्छङ्, and छ not being the first letter in इच्छङ्, does not change into ईय्. Here this should be determined whether इडागम or आदेश ईय should take place. इडागम being subsequent (पर) should prevail. If आदेश be नित्य, it will prevail. If the आदेश be अनित्य, it will yield to the इडागम, छ not being the first letter in इच्छङ्, Nevertheless आदेश will be considered अन्तरंग (proximate) why? because it was said just now that आयन् etc. were pronounced simultaneously with फ etc. in order that they might become आदिउदात्त. Thus Pāṇini's statement that the root ऋति takes इयङ्, being ज्ञापक, indicates that verbal terminations, (उणादि प्रत्ययाः) do not change into आयन् etc.

3rd Vārtika

Pāṇini regards Uṇādi words as Prātipadikas

Bhāṣya

Revered Pāṇini regards Uṇādi words as Prātipadikas. Uṇādi words are nouns that can not be traced to roots.]

Remarks

I have given a literal rendering of the whole passage. Here the second Vārtika is most important. The actual words used are धातोर्वेयङ्वचनात्

The natural order of the words is वा धातोरीयङ्वचनात्

This is not a complete sentence. There is an ellipsis after the word वचनात्, which being in the fifth case, denotes a reason Patañjali fills up the ellipsis thus :—

अथवा यदयं ऋते रीयङ् [III, 1, 29] इति धातोरीयङ् शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो न धातुप्रत्ययानामायनादयो भवन्तीति ।

By the word वा or अथवा Kātyāyana offers a second explanation, "since Pāṇini adds ईयङ् in-stead of छङ् to the root ऋति, he thereby indicates or wishes us to understand that the terminations ख and ड added to the root, शम्, as taught in the Uṇādi Sūtras शमेः खः I, 104, and शमेर्डः I, 101 do not change into ईन् and एयु्. The plain fact is that in the opinion of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, Pāṇini composed the Uṇādi Sūtras. This explanation is according to the व्युत्पत्तिपक्ष, the school of thought who hold that all nouns are verbal derivatives. The third Vārtika is based on the अव्युत्पत्तिपक्ष, that is to say, though Pāṇini composed the Uṇādi Sūtras, they do not represent his personal views. Thus the words, शङ्ख and शण्ड, not being traceable to roots, ख and ड do not change into ईन् and एयु्. Kaiyaṭa remarks :—

प्रातिपदिक विज्ञानादिति । पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहाराः सम्भवन्तीत्यव्युत्पत्तिपक्षाश्रयः ।

Let us now turn to Goldstücke'r explanation of this very passage. After giving a garbled quotation and omitting all reference to ऋतेरीयङ् being a ज्ञापक Sūtra, he says :—

To this rule (VII,1,2) Kātyāyana appends the remark that the Uṇādi affixes form an exception, when Patañjali explains this view of the author of the Vārtikas by the instances, Śaṅkha, Śaṇḍha ;

for though these words are formed with the affixes Kha, and Ḍha, the letters ḍh and kh, in their affixes, are real, not symbolical. "And" continues Kātyāyana, in two subsequent Vārtikas, "thouh Pāṇini speaks himself, in Sūtra III. 1, 29, of an affix iyaṅg (not caṅg, as might be expected according to rule VII. 1, 2) this does not invalidate my exception, for the latter is based on the circumstance that Pāṇini treats in his rule VII, 1, 2 not of verbal but nominal bases." "True" rejoins Patañjali; but Kātyāyana might have spared this discussion, for nominal bases formed with Uṇādi affixes are bases which have no grammatical origin.

The absurdity of this explanation will be at once appreciated by those who have carefully perused my rendering of the text with my explanatory remarks thereon given above. I would however, point out that the first mistake of Goldstücker is his failure to see that यत् being correlative to तत् does not mean "though" in the sentence यदयं.....धातोरीयङ्शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो etc The second mistake is his omission to translate वा or अथवा which introduces the second वार्तिक offering an alternative explanation to the one given in the first. The third mistake is that he has failed to see that धातोर्वेयङ्वचनात् is not a complete sentence there is an ellipsis after the word वचनात् which Patañjali has filled up. The fourth mistake is Goldstücker's erroneous supposition that the Sūtra ऋतेरीयङ् is introduced on its own account and not as a ज्ञापक to the Uṇādi Sūtras, which continue to be the principal topic of Kātyāyana's discourse, in the second as well as in the first Vārtika.

I have thus proved that Pāṇini composed the Uṇādi Sūtras and inserted them, together with the three introductory verses prefixed to them, immediately after the Sūtra उणादयोबहुलम् III, 3, 1. The feminine terminations are taught at the beginning of the fourth Adhyāya of the Aṣṭādhyāyī while the Uṇādi sūtras are assigned a place in the third Adhyāya. The well-known Sūtra

गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य (1, 2. 48) occurs in the first Adhyāya. The relative positions of these may be shown thus :—

First Adhyāya	Third Adhyāya.	Fourth Adhyāya.
गोस्त्रियोः	उणादयोबहुलम्	स्त्रियाम्
(I.2,48)	(III,3,1)	(IV,I,12)
	श्रीः Un. II 57	अधिकारोयम्
	तन्त्रीः Un. III 158	
	लक्ष्मीः Un. III, 160	

The Sūtra गोस्त्रियोः teaches that feminine nouns which are subordinate members in compounds shorten their final vowels as in निष्कौशाम्बिः अतिखट्वः. But though the Uṇādi Sūtras are subsequent to this Sūtra, the Uṇādi words तन्त्रीः, श्रीः and लक्ष्मीः do not conform to it in the compounds अतितन्त्रीः, अतिश्रीः and अतिलक्ष्मीः; only the feminine terminations mentioned in the fourth Adhyāya obey this Sūtra. It is manifest from this that Pāṇini first composed his Aṣṭādhyāyī and then compiled his Uṇādi treatise. He inserted it in the third Adhyāya, where कृत् terminations are treated of, because Uṇādi terminations are of the same nature, falling under the definition of कृत् as given in the sūtra कृदतिङ्. But this has rendered the arrangement of the sūtras in the Aṣṭādhyayī most defective. Kātyāyana who flourished nearly two centuries later, proposed to remove the defect thus:—

गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य 1, 2, 48

गोटाङ्ग्रहणं कृन्निवृत्त्यर्थम् ।

गोटाङ्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । किमिदं टाङिति । प्रत्याहारग्रहणम् । क्व संनिविष्टान । प्रत्याहारः । टापः प्रभृत्या ष्यङो ङकारात् । किं प्रयोजनम् । कृन्निवृत्त्यर्थम् । कृत्स्त्रिया धातुस्त्रियाश्च ह्रस्वत्वं माभूदिति । अतितन्त्रीः अतिश्रीः अतिलक्ष्मीरिति ॥ तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । स्त्र्यग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगति भैवति । स्त्रियाम् (IV, 1, 3) इत्येवंप्रकृत्य ये विहिता स्तेषां ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते । स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति ।

[TRANSLATION

Sūtra 1, 2, 48.

The word गो and nouns ending in feminine terminations, which are subordinate members of compounds, shorten their final vowels, as चित्रगुः, निष्कौशाम्बिः and अतिखट्वः

Vārtika

गोटाङ् should be accepted, in order to exclude Kṛit or Uṇādi ierminations.

Bhāṣya

गोटाङ् should be accepted. What does टाङ् mean? It is a pratyāhāra. What terminations are embraced in it? Those beginning with टाप् (IV, 1, 4) and ending with ङ्याङ् (IV 1,78.) For what purpose? For the purpose of excluding Kṛt terminations, so that feminine Kṛt terminations and feminine terminations affixed to verbal roots should not shorten their final vowels. If this be the case, this vārtika is necessary. No, it is not necessary. The word स्त्री in this sūtra will be made स्वरित; by स्वरित the अधिकार of the word स्त्री will be understood there (in the sūtra स्त्रियाम् IV, i, 3). Thus those feminine terminations that are prescribed according to the अधिकार "स्त्रियाम्" will be understood. Since by स्वरित the authority of the word स्त्री is known, there is no defect.]

Remarks

That this sūtra is defective is the unanimous opinion of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. They only differ as regards the means by which to remove the defect. Kātyāyana proposes to add a supplementary note enumerating only the feminine terminations taught in the fourth Adhyāya, thus leaving out the Uṇādi terminations given in the third Adhyāya, which are subsequent to the sūtra under consideration. Patañjali says that this note is unnecessary and suggests a simpler device. He utilizes for this purpose the sūtra स्वरितेनाधिकारः (I, 3, 11). The word स्त्री in गोस्त्रियोः (I, 2, 48) will be made स्वरित, that is, it will be अधिकृत or invested with अधिकार. The अधिकार the sphere of its duty lies in the fourth

Adyāya स्त्रियाम् (IV, 1, 2) where the word स्त्री must go in order to exercise its authority. Patañjali says:—

'अधिकृतोऽसौ ग्रामे' 'अधिकृतोऽसौ नगरे' इत्युच्यते
यो यत्र व्यापारं गच्छति (I, 3, 11)

This point may be illustrated by a concrete instance. A British statesman is appointed Viceroy of India. He passes through France on his way. In France there are many Indians. But he can not exercise an authority over them as the sphere of his duties lies in India. So the words श्रीः, तन्त्रीः and लक्ष्मीः taught in the third Adhyāya remain unaffected by the word स्त्री (1, 2, 48) being made स्वरित (अधिकृत) and we can thus form the compound-अतिश्रीः, अतितन्त्रीः and अतिलक्ष्मीः

It may be of interest to point out here that Candra, the Jain Śākatāyana and Hemacandra, who have Uṇādi sūtras of their own, but have no sūtra corresponding to स्वरितेनाधिकार, have avoided Pāṇini's mistake in the following way:—

Candra

First Adhyāya	Second Adhyāya
उणादयः I, 3, 1	सुपि ऱ्हस्वः II, 2, 84
	गोरग्रधानस्यान्त्यस्य II, 2, 84
	ङ्यादीनाम् II, 2, 85

Jain Śākatāyana

Second Adhyāya	Fourth Adhyāya
न्यग्गोष्यतोऽनं शीयोबहुव्रीहेः (II, 1, 123)	उणादयः IV, 3, 280

Hemacandra

Second Adhyāya.	Fifth Adhyāya.
ङ्यादे र्गौणस्य II, 4, 94.	उणादयः V, 2, 93.
गोश्चान्ते ऱ्हस्वः II 4, 95.	

Patañjali adverts to this defect again thus:—

न तर्हीदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः । वक्तव्यश्च । किंप्रयोजनम् । स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत । अधिकं कार्यम् । अधिकःकारः ॥ अधिकारगतिः । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य (I, 2, 48) इत्यत्र गोटाङ्ग्रहणं चोदितं तत्र कर्तव्यं भवति । स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते । स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति स्त्रियाम् (IV, 1, 3) इत्येवं प्रकृत्य ये प्रत्यया विहितास्तेषां ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति ॥ I, 3, 11.

The text of this passage is given above as it appears in Kielhorn's second edition of the Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I,p. 273, in Bibl. Ind. ed. of the Mahābhāṣya-pradīpodyota, Vol. II,pp.433, 434 and in the Nirṇaya sāgara edition Vol. II,p. 147. Besides the text and the meaning of this passage are controlled by the preceding passage which has been already explained above. Here Patañjali says that three advantages are gained by the use of स्वरित. The construction employed is स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत । [स्वरितेन] अधिकं कार्यं [यथा विज्ञायेत] । [स्वरितेन] अधिकः कारः [यथा विज्ञायेत] । The three advantages, अधिकारगतिः, अधिकं कार्यं and अधिकः कारः are illustrated by examples and are summed up in the concluding Gāthā which winds up the whole discussion. We are here concerned only with the first अधिकारगतिः I offer the following translation of the passage.

Translation:—

[In such a case this sūtra I,3,11 should not be uttered now. It must be uttered. For what purpose? in order that (1) the application of the word अधिकार, (2) extra duty, (3) additional work may be known. (1) The application of the word अधिकार. In the sūtra गोस्त्रियोः the Vārtika गोटाङ् (the word गो and the feminine terminations beginning with टाप्), the acceptance of which is urged, becomes unnecessary. The word स्त्री (1,2,48) will be pronounced स्वरित. Since by स्वरित the application of अधिकार is known, those feminine terminations, that are taught under the अधिकार " स्त्रियाम् " IV,1,2 will be recognised. There (in the sūtra I,2, 48) अधिकार will be understood by स्वरित; and so there is no defect.]

Let us turn to Goldstücker. He interpolates the word Vārtika after the words किं प्रयोजनम्, and reads the passage thus:— Patañjali.....किं प्रयोजनम्—Vārtika (Omitted in the calc. ed.) स्वरितेनाधिकारगति र्यथा विज्ञायेत Patañjali: अधिकारगतिः । अधिकः कारः । अधिकं कार्यम् । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्येत्यत्र गोटांग्रहणं चोदितं न कर्तव्यं भवति । स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते । स्वरितेनाधिकारगति र्भविष्यतीति स्त्रियामित्येवं प्रकृत्य ये विहितास्तेषां ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति, etc.

Goldstücker's translation.

[Patañjali....."What is the purpose of the Sūtra?" Vārtika: That the proper way of applying an Adhikāra might be known by means of the Svarita"

Patañjali: "Proper way of applying an Adhikāra." (just so) (Adhikāra means) an agent placed over, or an act to be done, placed over. Now, at the Sūtra I, 2, 48, the expression, Gotāng (used in the Vārtika to this rule) must not be considered as the subject of the Adhikāra; for the expression Strī will have the Svarita. Therefore according to the words of the Vārtika ('that the proper way' etc.) those affixes alone will have to be understood in that Sūtra 1, 2, 48 which fall under the head, Strī, end according to the Vārtik's own words, there is no defect in the Sūtra I, 2, 48."] It is obvious from this absurd translation that Goldstücker did not know that टाङ् in गोटाङ् is a Pratyāhāra. As he has altered the text, and by interpolating the word Vārtika, has transferred Patañjali's words to Kātyāyana, no conclusion can be drawn from them as to the authorship of the Unādi Sūtras or their place in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Goldstücker has also confused the word **स्वरित.** denoting **अधिकार** with the accent **स्वरित** Ginendrabuddhi clearly distinguishes between the two words thus:—

यदि पारिभाषिकस्येह स्वरितस्य ग्रहणं स्याद्रषाभ्यां नोणः समानपद इत्यत्र (VIII, 4, 1) णकाराण्णकारस्याधिकारता न स्यात्। पारिभाषिकस्याज् धर्मत्वात्। णकारस्या न च् कत्वाद्रिति मत्वा सर्वेषां वर्णानामचां हलाञ्च स्वरिताख्यो यो वर्णधर्मो गुणस्तस्येदं ग्रहणं न पारिभाषिकस्य।

प्रतिज्ञा स्वरिताः पाणिनीया इति। प्रतिज्ञया स्वरितो येषां ते तथोक्ताः। तदेत दुक्तं भवति। यत्रेव ते आचार्याः स्वरितत्वं प्रतिजानते तत्रैवास्य सद्भावो भवति नान्यत्रेति। तदपि प्रतिज्ञानं नानियमेन भवति। किं तर्हि? यत्राचार्याः स्मरन्ति तत्रैव भवति। सचायं धर्म्मः कलाद्युपम इति वेदितव्यः।

Nyāsa on Kāśikā I, 3, 11.

[One advantage arising from incorporating the Uṇādi Sūtras into the Aṣṭādhyāyī was that Pāṇini was saved the trouble of defining the numerous terms employed in them. But he does not seem to have anticipated that his arrangement would lead to

confusion between similar terminations. In his Sūtra तितुत्रत (VII, 2, 9) Pāṇini says that the termination त does not take the prefix इट्. But as he does not attach any Anubandha to it here it becomes doubtful whether the termination intended is Auṇādika or participial.

Accordingly Kātyāyana suggests several devices in order to enable us to distinguish between the past participle त (क्त) and the Auṇādika त (तन्) in his Vārtikas on the sūtra क्तक्तवतूनिष्ठा (I, 1, 26) while the commentators Jinendrabudhi, Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta and nagojībhaṭṭa are at great pains to tell us that the Auṇādika डति should not be confused with the taddhita डति in the sūtra डतिच (I, 1, 25) Therefore Ujjvaladatta in his comments on the Uṇādi Sūtra पातेर्डतिः (11. 57) remarks :—

पतिना (पातिना) सिद्धे पृणाति पालयतीत्यर्थे ड विधानमिति पारायणम् । बहुगण वतुडतीति । पा° १, १-२३ । व तु साहचर्या [त्त] द्धितस्य डते ग्रहणादस्य डते र संख्यात्वं । डतिच । पा° १-१-२५ । इत्यत्र संख्याग्रहणानुवृत्ते रस्य षट् संज्ञाया अभावः । तत पतय इति जसो लुक् न भवति ।

Uṇādivṛttī, Dr. Aufrecht's ed. p. 105.

It is true that whether the root be पॄ पालनपूरणयोः or पा रक्षणे, the resulting form पति will be the same by the dropping of the last syllable But the specific root पाति being used in the Uṇādi Sūtra, the opinion of the pārāyana is not entitled to a hearing. In his notes, p. 159 Dr. Aufrecht transfers Nāgojībhaṭṭa's words to Kaiyaṭa and misunderstands the reference.

As a general rule the Uṇādi Sūtras contain verbal roots and terminations. This fact is stated in the third Kārikā. Their object is to show that every noun is derived form a root. In a few cases, however, irregular forms or Nipātanas are mentioned. The following Uṇādi Sūtra contains ten nipātanas.

नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, होतृ, पोतृ, भ्रातृ, जामातृ, मातृ, पितृ, दुहितृ । Uṇādi II. 96.

In his comments on the Sūtra ण्वुल् तृचौ [III, 1, 133] Patañjali says that Pāṇini mentions only two words denoting blood relations स्वसृ and नप्तृ in his Sūtra अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तृणाम्

(VI, 4, 11) where the lengthening of the letter अ is taught; with a view to exclude other blood relations मातृ पितृ भ्रातृ etc. mentioned in the above Uṇādi Sūtras

स्वसृनप्तृग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति एतयोरेव
योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनिसंबन्धानामिति ।

The word भ्रातृ is thus निपातित (irregularly formed). This has tempted the poet Māgha to make a pun on the word निपातित which means "killed" as well as "irregularly formed" in the following verse:—

निपातितसुहृत्स्वामिपितृव्यभ्रातृमातुलम् ।
पाणिनीयमिवालोकि धीरैस्तत्समराजिरम् ॥

Śiśupālavadha XIX, 75

Translation:—

['That battlefield, in which friends, lords, paternal uncles, brothers amd maternal uncles were killed, was looked upon by brave men as the work of Pāṇini, wherein are taught, as irregular forms, the words सुहृद्, स्वामिन्, पितृव्य, भ्रातृ and मातुल"] These five Nipātanas are taugh in the following Sūtras:

सुहृद्सुहृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः
Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtra V, 4, 150

स्वामिन्नैश्वर्ये
Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtra V, 2, 126.

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः
Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtra IV, 2, 36.

नप्तृ नेष्टृ त्वष्टृ होतृ पोतृ भ्रातृ जामातृ मातृ पितृ दुहितृ
Uṇādi Sūtra II, 96

It is obvious from the verse translated above that the Uṇādi Sūtras, like the other Sūtras in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, were composed by Pāṇini himself and form an integral part of his work. And this conclusion is amply supported by the statements of Kātyāyana, Patañjalī, Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta, as has been proved above.



THE AUSTERITIES OF THE BODHISATTVA

THE AUSTERITIES OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA BEFORE HIS ENLIGHTENMENT (बोधि)

PROF. P. V. BAPAT, M. A.

षड्वर्षाणि हि कटुकं तपस्तप्त्वा महामुनिः ।
नायं मार्गो ह्यभिज्ञाय इति ज्ञात्वा समुत्सृजत् ॥

[दिव्यावदान p. 392]

It is well-known to the students of Buddhism that Gautama Buddha wandered from place to place, since he left his father's palace, for about six years in search of Salvation. He first stayed with teachers, who were called by the name of Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, but, not being satisfied with the goal, which they had placed before themselves and which he attained in no long time, he left them. Then he thought of making supreme efforts for himself. He went to Uruvelā and finding there a very charming site by the river Nerañjarā, he thought of practising severe austerities.

He began to practice breathing-exercises, clasp his teeth and apply the tongue to the roof of the throat. Often-times, when he held his breath, he suffered from a severe pain in his head and he felt as if his head was being churned by a sharp pointed weapon. Similar pain was experienced in his stomach and it appeared to him that his body was, as it were, being heated over a pit of fire.

He further tried the four-fold ways of holy life (चतुरंगसमन्नागतं ब्रह्मचरियं) that were then so recognised—(1) Several ways of self-mortification (तपस्सिता), such as eating only a few morsels of food, eating only once or twice a week, living on fruits, roots or vegetables, wearing rough linen clothes or barks or feathers, resting all the while in different positions of the body, such as, standing or sitting on feet without allowing the haunches to rest on the ground, lying on a bed of pointed nails (कण्टकापस्सयिको), or exposing his body to the sun's heat etc.

(2) Allowing a heap of dust to remain on the body to such an extent that it formed a layer on it.

(3) Over-scrupulousness for preserving the sanctity of life.

He cared not only for living beings, small or great, but he was careful not to offend even a *drop of water* (उदबिन्दुम्हि मे दया पच्चुपट्ठिता होति).

(4) Solitary confinement in a forest. Even if he chanced to see a cow-herd or a grass-cutter or a fuel-bearer he would run away from within his sight.

In addition to this we are told that he had become so indifferent to his personal self that he cared not even if he was teased by village-boys, who scattered dust over his body or inserted sticks into his ears or nose. He exposed himself to the cold of winter or heat of summer.

A Pali-text gives the following description of him :—

सो तत्तो सो सीतो एको भिंसनके वने ।
नग्गो न चऽग्गिमासीनो एसनापसुतो मुनीति ॥ (म. नि. 12th sutta)

"This sage who was in search (of salvation) allowed himself to be heated (by the sun) and exposed himself to the cold (of nights of winter) while living alone in dreadful forests un-clothed and un-warmed by fire."

Thus while he was practising such severe austerities he thought of reducing his food and came to maintain himself merely on the water in which certain beans were boiled. He became awfully lean and emaciated.

The following original passage from the महासच्चकसुत्त of मज्झिमनिकाय rightly describes his physical state :—तस्स मय्हं अग्गिवेसन एतदहोसियन्नूनाहं थोकं थोकं आहारं आहरेय्यं पसतं, पसतं यदि वा मुग्गयूसं, यदि वा कुलत्थयूसं, यदि वा कळाययूसं, यदि वा हरेणुकयूसंऽति । सो खो अहं अग्गिवेस्सन थोकं थोकं आहारं आहारेसिं पसतं पसतं...पे०...यदि वा हरेणुकयूसं । तस्स मय्हं अग्गिवेस्सन थोकं थोकं आहारं आहारयतो पसतं पसतं...पे०...यदि वा हरेणुकयूसं, अधिमत्तकसिमानं पत्तो काये होति । सेय्यथाऽपि नाम आसीतिकपब्बानि वा कालपब्बानि वा एवमेवऽस्सु मे अंगपच्चंगानि भवन्ति तायेवप्पाहारताय; सेय्यथापि नाम

ओट्ठपदं एवमेवस्सु मे आनिसदं होति तायेवऽप्पाहारताय; सेय्यथाऽपि नाम वट्टनावळी एवमेवस्सु मे पिट्ठिकण्टको उन्नतावनतो होति तायेवप्पाहारताय; सेय्यथापि नाम जरसालाय गोपानसियो ओलुग्गविलुग्गा भवन्ति एवमेवऽस्सु मे फासुळियो ओलुग्गविलुग्गा भवन्ति तायेवऽप्पाहारताय; सेय्यथाऽपि नाम गंभीरे उदपाने उदकतारका गंभीरगता ओक्खायिका दिस्सन्ति एवमेवऽस्सु मे अक्खिकूपेसु अक्खितारका गंभीरगता ओक्खायिका दिस्सन्ति तायेवऽप्पाहारताय; सेय्यथाऽपि नाम तित्तकलाबु आमकच्छिन्नो वातातपेन संपुटितो होति संमिलातो एवमेवऽस्सु मे सीसच्छवि संपुटिता होति संमिलाता तायेवऽप्पाहारताय । सो खो अहं अग्गिवेसन उदरच्छविं परामसिस्सामीति पिट्ठिकण्टकं येव परिगण्हामि, पिट्ठिकण्टकं परामसिस्सामीति उदरच्छविं येव परिगण्हामि, यावऽस्सु मे अग्गिवेस्सन उदरच्छवि पिट्ठिकण्टकं अल्लीना होति तायेवऽप्पाहारताय । सो खो अहं अग्गिवेस्सन वच्चं वा मुत्तं वा करिस्सामीति तत्थेव अवकुज्जो पपतामि तायेवऽप्पाहारताय । सो खो अहं अग्गिवेस्सन इममेव कायं अस्सासेन्तो पाणिना गत्तानि अनोमज्जामि । तस्स मय्हं अग्गिवेसन पाणिना गत्तानि अनोमज्जतो पूतिमूलानि लोमानि कायस्मा पपतन्ति तायेवऽप्पाहारताय । अपिऽस्सु मं अग्गिवेस्सन मनुस्सा दिस्वा एवमाहंसु—काळो समणो गोतमोऽति । एकच्चे मनुस्सा एवमाहंसु—न काळो समणो गोतमो, सामो समणो गोतमोति । एकच्चे मनुस्सा एवमाहंसु—न काळो समणो गोतमो, नऽपि सामो, मंगुरच्छवि समणो गोतमो ति । यावऽस्सु मे अग्गिवेस्सन ताव परिसुद्धो छविवण्णो परियोदातो उपहतो होति तायेवऽप्पाहारताय ।*

"Thus while, O Aggivessana, I was lessening the quantity of my food and was maintaining myself on the water in which beans like मुग्ग, कुलत्थ, कलाय or हरेणुक were boiled, my body had become extremely lean and emaciated. My limbs had shrunk up like the joints of आसीतिक or काल creepers, my buttocks also had shrunk up and had gone deep like the foot of the camel. Just as in a rope made of cords twisted together yon find ups and downs, so there were ups and downs in my back-bone. My ribs were broken and had become all loose like rafters of an old worn-out house. My eyes appeared to have gone deep into the sockets as the images of stars appear to have gone deep into a pool of water.

*Comp. म. नि. महासीहनादसुत्त; also ललितविस्तर, edited by R. Mitra XVII Chapter p. 319 21.

The skin of my head was dried up and had faded like the gourd that has been cut while raw and that has been dried up by the sun and wind. The stomach and the back-bone had come so close that when I touched one I could also feel the other. I could not even move to answer the calls of nature. I fell down on the same spot. If I simply touched my limbs with the palm of my hand, the hair on them fell down. I lost all the freshness and handsomeness of colour and people doubted whether I was black, brown, bluish, or of brunette colour."

The accompanying photograph of a stone statue of seated Buddha, which I saw in the Lahore Museum, when I had the occasion to pay a visit to it in November 1921, is in some points an exact representation of the above description, There are, if I mistake not, two such life-size statues and the sculptor has remarkably succeeded in depicting gruesome results of prolonged austerities. There is such another statue but a smaller one in the Calcutta Museum.

In this statue of Lahore Museum you will find that some more details than those in the description given above have been admirably represented. Besides the eyes gone deep, the stomach gone down, the ribs that can easily be counted with fingers and the bones in the face, note the beard grown thick, the nerves and sinews scattered over the neck and arms, as of a lean and emaciated man, very often described as धमनिसंथतगत्तो (having limbs spread over with nerves) and the garment fallen off his back.

The sculptor has however failed in one important point. He has given us the figure of the Buddha whereas it ought to be of the Bodhisattva, for the enlightement has not yet been attained by Gautama.

It was after the experience of such austerities that Gautama Buddha came to know of the futility of the practices of self-mortification and that he began to take food again. He personally experienced that these austerities are useless as no strength or energy can be left in the man who practises them to enable him

to apply himself strenuously to attain enlightenment. This is why he himself gave up and asked his followers also to give up, both the extremes of self-indulgence (कामसुखल्लिकानुयागो) and self-mortification (अत्तकिलमथानुयोगो) and follow the middle path (मज्झिमा पटिपदा).

DR. M. WINTERNITZ'S ADDRESS

on the occasion of his visit to the Institute

on 26th November 1922

Gentlemen, First of all let me thank you most heartily for your very kind invitation to this beautiful Institute which bears the honoured name of R. G. Bhandarkar, and for your cordial reception and hospitality. My visit to this ideal place of study will always be one of the happiest recollections of my stay in India.

I am all the more thankful to you for having invited me to visit this wonderful place of learning, as your Institute has undertaken a work which I have had at heart for the last 25 years—the *critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.* This work was first planned to be accomplished by the united efforts of the Academies and Learned Societies of Europe and America. The unfortunate war has interrupted even the preliminary work that had been started. Meanwhile you have taken the bull by the horn, and begun to *do* the work in India which we meant to do in Europe. I always think that useful work *should be done*, and it does not matter much *who does it.*

But it may be of some interest to you to have a short historical account of what has been done and planned in Europe with regard to the critical edition of the great Hindu Epic. At the International Congress of Orientalists at Paris in the year 1897, I first drew attention to the importance of the South Indian MSS for the restoration of a critical text of the great Indian Epic, and I said that for all critical and historical researches the editions of the Mahābhārata printed in India were insufficient, and that a *critical edition* of the Mahābhārata, made by European scholars according to the principles of philological criticism adopted in Europe, was a *condition sine qua non* of all Mahābhārata research. While some of the Sanskrit scholars present at the Paris Congress, especially the late Prof. Pischel, were quite enthusiastic for the plan of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata, others (e.g. Prof. Jacobi) were rather sceptical about the possibility of executing such a plan. It was due

to this scepticism that I proposed the critical edition of the Southern recension as a *preliminary* work to the final critical edition. For *all* scholars agreed so far that an edition of the *Southern recension* was a necessity. At the Oriental Congress in Rome in 1899, I proposed the foundation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society with the aims of collecting all the materials as well as the necessary funds for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. My proposal was read at that Congress which I myself had not been able to attend, and a committee was formed which was to consider the matter and report on the subject at the next Congress.

The members of this committee, however, were of opinion that the work could not be performed by such a society as I had proposed, and it was suggested that the International Union of Academies should take up the work. In a memorial, signed by Bendall, Fleet, Hoernle and Rhys Davids, as members of the committee, appointed at Rome, it was stated "that so important an undertaking is worthy of the support of the International Union of Academies, and could best be carried out by their joint effort. They welcome therefore with cordial approval the suggestion that the matter should be brought before the International Union of Academies with the object of obtaining the assistance of that body in the work, and would express the earnest hope, that the application will meet with success." At the same time I presented a promemoria on the necessity of a critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to the Vienna Academy of Sciences.

In 1903 a committee was appointed by the united German Academies and Learned Societies to discuss the question of the preliminary work necessary for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata, and met at Munich. This committee consisted of Professors Jacobi, Kielhorn, Kuhn, Lüders, Pischel, Schroeder, Windisch and myself. At this meeting it was resolved that the International Association of Academies should (1) be informed that the United German Academies would provide the means for such preliminary work as cataloguing and classifing the Mahābharata MSS existing in Europe. (2) That a Promemoria on the necessity of a critical edition of the Mbh. should be written by

Jacobi, Lüders and myself, and brought before the meeting of the Int. Association of Academies which was to take place at Whitsuntide 1907. This Promemoria was actually presented and a definite plan laid before the Association. The first step was to make a *classified catalogue* of all the MSS available in Europe. Lüders undertook this cataloguing and classification of MSS on the basis of a collation of the first Adhyāya of each of the 100 Parvans. Then the Indian Government should be asked to send MSS to Europe; Lüders should eventually go to India for the search and examination of MSS in India; Lüders and myself should edit a specimen of the edition, after which the principles should be fixed upon according to which the Edition was to be made (which group of MSS or recension should be made the basis of the Edition, how the varietas lectiona should be printed etc.)-principles which should be binding for all Editors. An Editorial Committee with a Director at its head should be formed. The costs of the whole Edition were estimated at about £6,000.

With the exception of the French Academie des inscriptions et belles letters (the French scholars thought the time not yet ripe for such an edition and proposed to adjourn the decision of the Association), all the other Academies were in favour of the plan, and the Association of Academies actually decided to make the edition of the Mbh. one of the tasks to be undertaken under its auspices and with the help of its funds.

In 1908, two meetings of Mahābhārata Committee took place during the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen, and a few specimen pages prepared by Prof. Lüders were laid before the Congress.

In March 1911, an appeal to the Princes and Nobles of India to contribute to the expenses of producing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata was sent out to India. It was signed by prof. Van Schroeder as Chairman of the Int. Committee Superintending the publication of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata by Pro. Lüders as Chairman of the Editorial Sub Committee appointed to control the publication of the Edition, and by Pro. Macdonell as member of the Mahābhārata Committee appointed by the British Academy. As a result of the researches that had been carried on so far, it was

stated in this appeal, that "the texts of the North Indian and of the South Indian Manuscripts are widely divergent," that "in the Northern MSS at least five different recensions can be distinguished," and that the divergences within the South Indian group may possibly turn out to be even greater. The costs were estimated by the Clarendon Press at about £7000/- while the combined Academies had only £2500, at their disposal.

According to a communication made by Prof. Macdonell in 1913* several hundreds of copies of this appeal were distributed in India, but resulted only in contributions amounting to about £800. Prof. Macdonell himself had further brought the project to the notice of all the Provincial Governments and Universities of India, with the result of a further addition of £500 to the Fund.

The British Academy made an appeal to the Secretary of State for India who promised a grant of £60 for each of the 17 vols., in which the edition was to be printed.

In this information Prof. Macdonell stated that by the end of 1915 a sum would be available to print 3 of the 17 vols. which were to be printed by the Clarendon Press at Oxford.

All this was done before the war. What actual work has been done in that time?

As far as I know, Prof. Lüders has done the preliminary work of cataloguing and classifying the Mahābhārata MSS available in Europe. He and some of his pupils have collated a number of MSS also such as had been sent from India,† Prof. B. Geiger in Vienna has also collated Mbh. MSS for the purpose of the Edition.

I myself had the intention of editing the Sabhāparvan and have collated some South Indian MSS for this purpose, partly assisted by my pupil Dr. Stein.

Of all the work done nothing has, as far as I know, been published except the specimen (Druckprobe) of Prof. Lüders mentioned above.

*For the information of the members of the Mahābhārata Committee who were to attend the General Meeting of the Association of Academie to be held in St. Petersburg in may 1913.

†Some South Indian MSS. had been sent on loan by the Raja of Vijaya nagara for the purpose of collation.

How the matter stands now after the war, and after the work of the Association of Academies has come to a stand still is difficult to say. All I know is what Prof. Macdonell reports in J.R.A.S. 1920, 179 ff. Here.‡

Prof. Macdonell said that the action of the Academies in the promotion of Oriental research had been to a large extent suspended This was especially the case with the proposed critical edition of the Mahābhārata. At the present time the funds available for the purpose amounted to £6,000, a sum made up of about £1,700 from subscriptions, a subvention of £1,700 promised by the India office, and a grant of £2,500 voted by the Associated Academies. Before the out-break of the War, estimates of the cost of printing had been furnished, the collaborators, most of whom were Germans, had been selected, and the portions of the epic assigned to them allotted. Now that the war had come to an end we were faced with the question how the undertaking should be resumed. The answer to this depends on the attitude which the Academies of this and the Allied countries were going to adopt towards those of Germany and Austria, A suggestion was made as to what that attitude should be. At the same time (p.151) "Mr. F. W. Thomas called attention to the recently reported proposal of the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona for a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, to be produced in India by the aid of a fund which had been placed at its disposal for the purpose;"

I do not know what kind of suggestion was made as to the attitude the Academies of the Allied countries were going to adopt towards those of Germany and Austria. But I must say that I have very. very little hope that the Mahābhārata Edition so hopefully planned by the Association of Academies before the war will and can be accomplished in the near future. The hopes entertained in this respect have been killed by the war, as so many other hopes. The spirit in which the Academies and Learned Societies of Europe had joined for common work, is dead and, I am afraid, will not be revived for a long time to come. And even if it were not so, the German

‡Report of the Joint Session of the Royal Asiatic Society, Societe Assiatique, American Oriental Society, and Sciuolo Oriental, Reale Università de Rome, Sept. 3-6-1919.

and Austrian Academies are now too poor to print even all their own Transactions, much less to spare funds for any other kind of publications. And another question presents itself now in view of the Edition undertaken by your Institution. Even if there were no such difficulties as I have just pointed out, we shall have to ask ourselves seriously if, it would not be waste of time and energy to do work that has already been accomplished over again. Surely it is a mere accident that some of the Mbh. MSS are in Europe and others in India. And it would be as great a mistake to base a critical edition only on the Indian MSS as it would be to base it only on the European MSS. And what applies to the MSS may also be said of the labour of Indian and European scholars.

And I confess to-day that it was a mistake when I said in 1897 that a critical edition of the Mbh. could be made by *European scholars* only though I still hold that it will have to be made *according to the principles of philological criticism adopted in Europe*. We have had quite a number of good critical edition of Sanskrit texts published by Indian scholars ever since J. Buhler and F. Kielhorn joined hands with R. G. Bhandārkar, Shankar P. Pandit, K. T. Telang and others in pulishing the Bombay Sanskrit Series. And it augurs well for the success of the Pant Pratinidhi Edition of the Mahābhārata that it proceeds from an Institution that bears the name and was founded in honour of the venerable Senior of Sanskrit Scholars in India, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, whom we in Europe also honour and regard as one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars living. It is he who has done more than anybody else to introduce the spirit of European criticism among Indian scholars. And if the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, will be carried out in the spirit of the school of R. G. Bhandarkar, I am assured that everything will be done to make it such an edition as is wanted to satisfy the needs of Sanskrit scholarship, that is a critical edition which will be a sound foundation for all critical and historical research in the Mahābhārata. For let it be remembered: the Critical Edition is not to be the *end*, but the *beginning* of a critical study of the great Indian Epic. But however favourable the circumstances for the completion of the work in India

may be, yet I am convinced that it would be still better, if ways and means could be found for some collaboration between Indian and Western scholars, and for using the work that has already been done in Europe (and, if possible, also the funds collected for the European edition) for the Edition undertaken by your Institute. At any rate it would be a most unsatisfactory state of things, if the very important MSS existing in Europe were not made use of for the Edition.

There are very important Bengāli and S'āradā MSS in the Bibliothè que Nationale at Paris, Grantha and Malayalam MSS. in the India Office Library and in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, MSS in Maithili character in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, I know also of important MSS at Vienna, Berlin, Munich and Göttingen. There are also, as I know from my friend Professor Takakusu some Mahābhārata MSS in Maithili script from Nepal now in Japan. All these MSS. ought certainly to be examined and most of them probably also to be collated.

Which of the many hundreds of MSS should be collated, can only be decided after an inspection, and examination of all the MSS. This, however, presupposes not only a *list* of all MSS available, but also a *grouping* and *classification* of the MSS. Such a classification seems to me be to the very first preliminary necessary, before any real editorial work can be begun. Only when the MSS have thus been classified, it can be decided which group of MSS should be made the basis of the critical edition, and some leading principles can be laid down regarding the choice of various readings, and regarding the inclusion or exclusion of verses which are not found in all groups of MSS.

I sincerely hope, ways and means will be found for the collaboration of Indian and Western Scholars. But to make the way clear for such collaboration, the members of the Mahābhārata Committee appointed by the British Academy should take steps to communicate with the members of the Mahābhārata Committee appointed by the other Academies in order to bring about some decision regarding the Mbh. edition planned by the International Association of Academies, whether the plan should be given up or not and if it is given up,

what should be done with the collation work that has been accom plished and partly paid for by the Academies of Berlin and Vienna I myself am only a member of the Editorial sub-committee, not o the Mahābhārata Committee of the International Association c Academies.

But I shall be only too glad to discuss with your Editoria Committee the whole question and to see if some definite propose can be made as to the way, in which Indian and Western scholar could collaborate in this great undertaking. Through the kindnes of your chief Editor Prof. Utgikar, I have been able to get an insigh into the way in which the work is being carried on here, and I ar highly satisfied and very hopeful that it will be accomplished in th spirit of criticism, accuracy and conscientiousness which is so abso lutely necessary for such a work. The Tentative Edition of th Virāṭaparvan, as far as I have been able to examine it, promise well for the final Edition. And I congratulate you most heartily o the work that has been accomplished so far under the able editorshi of Mr. Utgikar. You have got an able and competent editor, you hav got a staff of workers, you have a wonderful collection of Mahābhā rata MSS in your Institute, you have material support of a nobl Chief, and you have shown that you can do the work which yo have undertaken: all this is extremely favourable for the success c your work, and if it were possible to combine the labour of Wester scholars with your own efforts, no one would be happier tha myself.

In a few days I shall proceed to the International University c Santiniketan, following an invitation of your great Poet Rabindra nath Tagore. When I left the Poet yesterday at Bombay, he aske me to tell you that he would be very glad if some of your Mahābhā rata workers would come to Santiniketan, and if some of the wor you have undertaken could be carried on in this University. Th ideal of the great Poet is to bring about a close co-operation of Eas and West. Might it not be a good omen, if the co-operatio between Eastern and Western scholars in the Mahābhārata Editio could be begun in Visva-Bhāratī, the International University c Santiniketan?.

MISCELLANEA

I

In the Nāradapañcarātra (Bibliothica Indica edition, 1865), Adhyaya II, we find the following verse:—

(A) "आराधितो यदि हरिस्तपसा ततः किम् ।
नाराधितो यदि हरिस्तपसा ततः किम् ॥
अन्तर्बहिर्यदि हरिस्तपसा ततः किम् ।
नान्तर्बहिर्यदि हरिस्तपसा ततः किम् ॥ ६॥

I have now to ask the readers of your journal to compare the following verse which we find at the close of the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर (Nirnaya Sāgar edition of याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति):—

(B) "अन्तर्मुखानि यदि खानि तपस्ततः किम् ।
नान्तर्मुखानि यदि खानि तपस्ततः किम् ॥
अन्तर्बहिर्यदि हरिश्च तपस्ततः किम् ।
नान्तर्बहिर्यदि हरिश्च तपस्ततः किम्

It will be noticed that these two passages A and B bear close resemblance. Further the 3rd and 4th line of both are almost identical. We have now to decide the following issues regarding A and B:—

(1) Whether A is positively a part of the text in which it appears;

(2) Whether B is positively a part of the text at the close of which it appears;

(3) Whether A is an echo of B or vice versa;

(4) Whether there are any other verses in Sanskrit literature which have this special cast. If so, which?

The date of मिताक्षरा is 11th Century and if we succeed in proving that A is an echo of B, we shall have one good reason to fix 11th Century as the *terminus a quo*, for the date of Nāradapañcarātra, which is generally regarded to have a late origin.

If any of the readers of your journal have any evidence bearing on the issues mentioned above, they are requested to inform me of the same through your journal.

P. K. Gode.

II

Certain trees and their products, such as, banana, betelnut cocoanut and mango, play a very important part in all our religious ceremonies and most of them are absolutely indispensable. This clearly indicates their very ancient cultivation in India. When the Aryans crossed the borders of India, they must have been struck with the beauty of all these plants, which by their very nature cannot possibly grow outside North and North-West Frontiers of India. The cocoanut and betelnut do not grow away from the sea-coast. The Aryans must have reached the sea-coast of Western India or of Bengal before they admitted the fruits of the two palms in their religious ceremonies. This suggests that all the trees referred to above were naturally growing in this country and the Aryans simply took them up in their religious ceremonies.

European naturalists, who have studied these and other plants, have come to the conclusion that the native home of these plants must be outside India. De Cendalle, who is considered the best authority on the origin of cultivated plants, says that the Hebrews and the ancient Egyptians did not know the banana plant and that its native home must have been Malay Peninsula.

He has come to similar conclusion that it is impossible to doubt that the mango is a native of the South Asia or of Malay Archipelago.

The betel nut palm and the betel vine are also considered natives of Malay Archipelago.

The native home of the cocoanut is doubtful but is supposed to be Malay Archipelago or Polynesia by De Cendalle and Cocoa Islands by some. Cook and Briby say that cocoanut and its near relatives are all natives of Tropical America from where it was

carried westward across the Pacific in pre-historic times (Cyclopædia of Horticulture).

Will any Sanskrit Scholars be good enough to find out the following points:—

(1) The earliest mention of these plants in Sanskrit Literature and its approximate date.

(2) Is there any evidence to show that there was at that time inter-communication between India and Malay Archipelago so as to facilitate importation of these plants into India. For these plants, except the cocoa-nut, are not by their very nature adapted to be carried away by natural agencies of dispersal such as wind, water or animal agency.

H. P. PARANJPYE.

EDITORIAL NOTES

We are glad to announce that the two side Halls of the Institute which were under construction for about two years or so were completed by the end of December last. It was the wish of the organizers of the Institute to get the Halls formally opened by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, but owing to multiplicity of public engagements of His Excellency and the transfer of Government to Bombay in November last, the Institute regrets that it could not realize its wish and hence the idea of formal opening of the Halls was finally abandoned.

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As announced in the last issue of the Annals Dr. M. Winternitz the great Western Sanskritist was kind enough to pay a visit to the Institute on 26th November 1922 on his way to Santiniketan. He was accorded a hearty reception on the occasion, in reply to which the great Doctor delivered an address which appears *in extenso* elsewhere in this issue. The address mainly deals with his ideas about the collaboration of the Institute with the European scholars in the matter of the Mahābhārata edition. The Institute is very grateful to Dr. M. Winternitz for his kind suggestions.

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Dr. Winternitz, having made in his address an offer on behalf of the Vishvabhāratī University regarding the collaboration of the Institute with that University in the work of the Institute's critical edition of the Mahābhārata, the Executive Board accepted the offer and has accordingly deputed Mr. N. B. Utgikar to Santiniketan to work with Dr. Winternitz on the lines proposed by him and also to have an exchange of views regarding the whole work. Mr. Utgikar left for Shantiniketan on the 26th of February.

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The Tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan is now completed. The illustrations prepared by the Chief of Aundh will before long be inserted in the same and copies will be sent to the scholars con-

eerned inviting their opinion and criticism on the lines adopted in the preparation of this edition. The edition has grown in volume beyond expectations and comprises more than one-thousand pages including a critical introduction of 52 pages and Textual notes running over 146 pages. It will be another six months before the lines of the final edition are fixed in the light of the criticism invited.

* * * * * *

Dr. P. D. Gune, after an illness, lasting well-nigh for a period of two years, breathed his last on the 25th of November last. A detailed account of his career, appears elsewhere in the obituary notice. It is no exaggeration to say that Dr. Gune was the very soul of the Institute and it was mainly due to his efforts that the Institute has grown and prospered so much in such a short time. The General Body at its meeting held on 3rd December 1922, passed the following resolution:—

> "That this General meeting of the members of the Bhandarkar Institute desires to place on record its deep regret at the premature death of Dr. P. D. Gune who was one of the founders of the Institute, a member of the Executive Board and the Honorary Secretary of the Institute during a long period when the Institute was being organized. He thus had a great deal to do with the lines of development of its work and it will always bear the impress of his personality, and of his genuine enthusiasm for research into oriental matters. His loss will therefore, be long felt both by the Institute and by Oriental Scholarship generally."

We offer our condolence to the family of the deceased and assure them that the whole world of Sanskritists shares with them their grief.



THE LATE DR. P. D. GUNE, M.A., PH.D.

Born, May 1854 *Died, 25th November 1922.*

OBITUARY NOTICES

I

The late Dr. P. D. Gune —It is with a sense of painful duty that we venture to record the death of Dr. P. D. Gune, M. A. Ph. D., which sad event took place at Sangli on the 25th of November, 1922. Dr. Gune had been suffering from Tuberculosis since February 1921 and inspite of all human efforts to save him, he fell a victim to that most vile disease!

To the readers of the "Annals" Dr. Gune was familiar as the Secretary of the Bhandarkar Institute, for which he worked very hard since 1918. He was also one of the three Secretaries of the Working Committee, who evolved and put on a permanent basis the Bhandarkar Institute. He took the initiative in starting the "Annals" and also in organizing the First Oriental Conference. Both these projects have been crowned with success as they have served materially in furthering the cause of the Institute and enhancing its reputation in the world of Oriental Scholarship. He took a leading part also in organizing the Mahābhārata Department of the Institute and finding ways and means for conducting the work of the New and Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. He was the Editor of the "Annals" since its very inception. He was obliged to retire from his active work as Secretary of the Institute in April 1921 on account of his continued ill health. He, however, remained on the Executive Board and some of its Committees to the moment of his death.

It is a great pity that a man of Dr. Gune's capacity and learning should be snatched away by Death even before he reached the age of forty. It was in fact at this stage of his life that the product of his mature and brilliant scholarship was being gradually turned out in a permanent form. 'Philology,' his special subject has not been studied in our Universities in a scientific manner. Since his return from Germany, where Dr. Gune

studied the subject under Dr. Brugmann, he was trying his best to give an impetus to such a study in the University of Bombay, of which he was a fellow. He was appointed Wilson Philological Lecturer by the University of Bombay in 1917. Dr. Gune subsequently published his Lectures in a book-form under the title An "Introduction to Philology" It is a work of wide reading and deep study, not to say much originality in some of its parts. It has proved a very useful manual to the students of Philology in our Univerties. Besides this valuable work, Dr. Gune had undertaken for editing two Prākṛt works: one for the Gaikwar Oriental Series and the other for the University of Calcutta; but as Fate would have it he passed away before he could see them completed! Dr. Gune had also projected as his life-work (1) a Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛts, (2) a Comparative Grammar of the Indian Vernaculars, and (3) a Vedic Lexicon and his studies were going on in this direction even to the last moment. He was examiner in Sanskrit and Philology in the University of Bombay as also in other Universities such as Calcutta, Mysore etc.

Dr. Gune contributed very valuable articles to the "Annals" of the Institute, the Indian Antiquary, the Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, the "Vividha-jnāna-vistāra" and a few other journals. He published also an account of his European travel in Marāṭhi, which has been printed by the Manoranjan Press, Bombay. Dr. Gune was, side by side with his Sanskrit studies, a student of Marāṭhi language and literature. He wrote some poems in Marāṭhi.

Dr. Gune's leanings towards the Sanskrit language and literature had a very early beginning. He passed his Matriculation examination in 1900 and won the Second Jagannath Shankarshet Scholarship for Sanskrit. During his college career at the Wilson College he won all the scholarships and prizes for proficiency in Sanskrit offered by the University. He passed his B. A. in the First Division and was appointed Dakshina Fellow for two years in the Wilson College. He passed his M. A. in the Second Division through the same college. It was a time when a man of Dr.

Gune's academic career would easily have secured a lucrative job in Government Service; but being a man of ideas and ideals, he preferred to lead a life of scholarly poverty and joined the Deccan Education Society as a life-member in 1908. Since that time he acted as Professor of Sanskrit in the Fergusson College and was transferred for benefit of his health to the Sangli College only some six months before his death.

The writer of this note had the privilege of knowing Dr. Gune and studying under his guidance since 1908 and he can testify to the characteristic manner of teaching adopted by the late Doctor. Be it said to his credit that he never deified Method. He never jogged along the time-worn grooves of Pedagogic Methodology. He could create in his conversation both inside and outside the class room a wonderful spirit of vivacity and cheerfulness, which made him friends wherever he went. There is not a single soul who has not felt deeply this loss to oriental scholarship. Dr. Gune had a bit of that extempore wit which serves a man in good stead in all the walks of life. He worked hard for his students but in imparting instruction he never resorted to the bottle-feeding method. This increased the student's capacity for study without crippling his intellect. He had a sort of personal magnetism which is generally lacking in men of learning given to their special pursuits. We have, therefore, to deplore this loss in more ways than one.

P. K. Gode.

II

The Late Dr T. W. Rhys Davids

अलित्था अग्गिक्खन्धो व निब्बुतो सो महायसो ।

[That most illustrious man blazed like a flame of fire and disappeared.]

We regret to have to record the death of the great Pāli Scholar Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, LL. D, Ph. D, Litt. F. B. A. He was considered to be a great authority on early Buddhism and Pāli Language and Literature. His Pāli studies had long

ago won for him a world-wide reputation and his literary work during the last 50 years will ever stand as a living monument to his profound scholarship and his unstinted zeal in the cause of Pāli, the sacred language of the early Buddhists of India and of the modern Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia, who all claim to be the Buddhists of the orthodox school (थेरवाद).

Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids was born in Colchester on May 12th 1843. He received his education at Brighton school and at the University of Breslau. After he had completed his education, he entered the Ceylon Civil Service in the year 1866 and thus he came into contact with the Buddhists and their religion. This led him to the study of Pāli to which he devoted himself for the rest of his life. His critical faculties and his love of independent judgment could not long tolerate the dull dead routine of the Civil Service and he consequently resigned. When he returned to England, he was called to the Bar in 1877 but still he had determined to continue his Pāli studies.

In 1881 he was invited to deliver the Hibbert Lectures and it was at this time that he announced the birth of the Pali Text Society. He was the founder of that Society which has till now published more than 90 vols. within the space of 40 years of its existence. In 1882 he was appointed Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature at the University College, London. In 1895, he originated the Oriental Translation Fund and in 1900, the Indian Texts Series. He was Secretary and Librarian to the Royal Asiatic Society from 1895-1902. In 1894, he married Miss Fobey, daughter of Rev. John Fobey, D. D. (now Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids) who also has now won fame in Pāli scholarship, especially, in the exposition of Buddhist Psychology and Metaphysics. She has abundantly helped her husband in his literary undertakings and thus brought her intellectual companionship to add to her loving duties to her husband. He was a Professor of Comparative religion at the University of Manchester and was also a Foundation Fellow of the British Academy.

He was the author of "Buddhist Birth stories," "Buddhism" the well-known manual on that subject, "Ancient coins and measures of Ceylon," his "American Lectures," and "Buddhist India." The last-named is a master-piece from the pen of Prof. Rhys Davids and it shows what a wonderful patience critical faculty he possessed in collecting, classifying and analysing the literary material and drawing historical conclusions from it.

For the Pāli Text society he edited "Digha Nikāya" vols. I & II and "Sumangala Vilāsinī part I," (With J. E. Carpenter), "Abhidhammattha saṅgaha," "Dāṭhāvaṃsa," "Yogāvacara's manual" and "Visuddhi magga" in two vols. (1920-21). For the Sacred Books of the East series he with Dr. Oldenberg, prepared English translations of the Vinaya books, "Mahāvagga" and Cullavagga," in three vols. Further he presented the "Questions of King Milinda" in two vols, and translations of some important selected suttas under the title of "Buddhist Suttas." For the Sacred Books of the Buddhists series, he translated the three vols. of the Digha Nikāya, the first of which was published in 1899, the second in 1910 and the third in 1921. In the introduction to the third of these volumes, he already complains of infirmities and oldage, which contributed to the delay in publishing the third volume, some 20 years after the publication of the first volume.

During the last few years of his life, he was with Mr. W. Stede, engaged on his most important and at the same time most laborious task, of preparing the Pāli English Dictionary, the three parts of which have been already published. This is his last work upon which he was engaged even when the shadow of death had fallen upon him. It would really have been a great satisfaction to Prof. Rhys Davids as well as to all Pāli scholars if he had lived to finish this work of Pāli-English Dictionary. But that was not to be. The icy hand of death snatched him away from among us while, inspite of his oldage, he was confidently applying his shoulders to the wheel of the Norm! A mighty void has thus been caused in the ranks of Pāli scholars which it would take several years to fill!

What consolation can be given to the human heart except in the philosophic words of the Great Seer

"यं किंचि समुदयधम्मं सब्बं तं निरोधधम्मं"

"Whatever is liable to arise, is (also) liable to cease;" or,

सब्बे संखारा अनिच्चाति यदा पञ्ञाय पस्सति ।
अथ निब्बिन्दते दुक्खे एस मग्गो विसुद्धिया ॥

"When a man sees with his wisdom that all worldly things are impermanent, he is indifferent toward: suffering. This is the way to Purity!"

—P. V. Bapat.